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# THE ARMORIAL ENSIGNS

OF THE

# ROYAL BURGH OF ABERDEEN

*200 Copies printed.*

*No. 162*

GIBB & MAY LITH.
ABERDEEN

ARMORIAL ENSIGNS OF THE CITY OF ABERDEEN, as certified by the Lyon King of Arms in 1883,

# The Armorial Ensigns

of the

# Royal Burgh of Aberdeen

WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS
ON THE LEGEND RELATING TO THE
CAPTURE AND DEMOLITION OF THE CASTLE

BY THE LATE
JOHN CRUICKSHANK

ABERDEEN
J. and J. P. Edmond and Spark
1888

To

THE LORD PROVOST,

MAGISTRATES AND TOWN COUNCIL

OF

THE ROYAL BURGH OF ABERDEEN,

THIS ACCOUNT OF THE ARMORIAL ENSIGNS OF THE BURGH

IS, WITH THEIR PERMISSION, MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY

THEIR OBEDIENT SERVANT,

JOHN CRUICKSHANK.

ABERDEEN, *31st October, 1887.*

## NOTE.

WHEN, in 1883, the Lyon Office issued an official emblazonment of the Aberdeen arms, a description of the bearings was contributed to the local newspapers by the late Mr. John Cruickshank. A few copies of that description were reprinted privately; but, at the suggestion of some friends, Mr. Cruickshank undertook to expand the sketch, and this volume is the outcome of his researches. The investigation of the history of the arms became with him latterly an all-engrossing pursuit. Hardly a week passed without the addition of some item to his stock of information, or the discovery of some blunder in earlier accounts of the arms. Day by day—between his house and his office in Belmont Street—the 'copy' was carried to and fro in the black bag so familiar to all that knew him.

After Mr. Cruickshank's death, his manuscripts were placed in the hands of the writer, to whom their preparation for the press has been a labour of love. The account of the Armorial Ensigns is printed substantially as left by its compiler, such additions as seemed called for being indicated by square brackets.

For assistance in revising proof sheets, and for many suggestions on points of heraldic nicety, the editor is indebted to one early friend of Mr. Cruickshank; to another, for the graceful tribute to his memory.

P. J. A.

# In Memoriam.

*"To a good man of most dear memory*
*Is this page sacred."*

IT may at first sight look somewhat presumptuous to venture to prefix these words to this memorial tribute, but to those who knew the deceased John Cruickshank, and who felt the pulse of his peculiar vein of character, in habit and manner as he lived, they will not seem lines either inappropriate or out of place in such a relation.

They are, with a little adaptation, the words with which the poet Wordsworth commences his tribute to the virtues and memory of Charles Lamb, and although there is no claim thus implied for any approximation as to likeness in intellectual quality, there is fair ground for affirming, regarding John Cruickshank, that he does suggest, in not a few aspects, the semblance of Elia on our Northern soil. With his mild, hilarious humour, his unfailing good nature, his almost life-long devotion to office-work

routine, his little foibles and peculiarities, and bachelor ways of living, above all, the misfortunes with which his later years were clouded, he may, we think, pass for a distant image of a Scottish Charles Lamb, such as the grey granite city of the north can be said to have moulded and developed.

It must have been about the year 1852, or thereby, that the writer of this notice first saw John Cruickshank. He had then come north for a short visit to Aberdeen, being at this period resident in Glasgow, engaged on the staff of the ill-fated City of Glasgow Bank, in the ruin of which he was afterwards to be involved. But all looked then serene, and the clouds of danger were nowhere in the horizon. A mutual friend, who had known him longer, brought us together, and we arranged a dinner for the Glasgow guest. The manner of our forgathering at this first meeting is still vivid in my remembrance, how John Cruickshank came in, with round, benevolent face, broad, square bust, and altogether somewhat portly person for his years and stature—a jovial yet thoughtful man, of evidently "cheerful yesterdays and confident to-morrows." Even then, though still young comparatively, the irongrey was beginning to overspread his temples, and the busy crowfoot was commencing round the eyes, but his

look was still that of bright, glowing youthfulness, and the eye itself, with its busy twinkle, smiling with humour and with friendly bonhomie for all mankind, "beamed keen with honour." I took to the man at once, predisposed thereto because of what I had heard from our common friend as to his lovable peculiarities, his somewhat uncommon combination of devoted Free Churchism with the highest Lord-Eldon kind of Toryism, and, specially, because of his romantic, almost old-world, fondness for his mother, on whom he doted with the devotion of a knight-errant, and who seemed to supply all the nurture he required of the heart affections. Be this as it may, John Cruickshank, as to matters matrimonial, was never moved from the even tenor of his bachelor ways, and, although he was most chivalrous to the fair sex, and was even fond of their society, they also being not unappreciative of him, he remained to the end, as in his punning moments he would have said, "*unwod*," though not perhaps "unwooed." On the occasion to which I refer, the character of the man came out in look and talk attractively, expressing itself in the stories, mostly broad Scotch, in which he delighted, and got us and others to delight in as well—stories whereof his stores were both rich and mellow.

Of comparatively humble parentage, and enjoying, I believe, when young, no great or special advantages, John Cruickshank was yet a born gentleman in taste and feeling, and all his associations were of a refined yet simple kind. In his profession as a Banker he was scrupulously careful and exact, and it was alleged of him that after he rose to be the "agent," his sense of responsibility was apt to make him restless, in the case of overdrawn accounts, to an extent not always pleasant to his friends. Any one or more of these friends indeed, happening to transgress, were sure to be soon reminded, however substantial they might be, by the supremely accurate John Cruickshank, of the "heinous" liberty in which they were extravagating, and wherein they must indulge no more.

Hence, with the rigid accuracy which characterised him, John Cruickshank recalls the office-clerk, immortalised by Charles Lamb, to whose heart "the fractional farthing was as dear as the thousands which stood before it." It will be felt, indeed, that the peculiar qualities of his heart and mind are the same that come out in so happy prominence in the sketch of the other compeers of Elia generally, in whose portraiture we recognise not a few touches suggestive of our Aberdonian friend.

"They were mostly (for the establishment did not admit of superfluous salaries) bachelors. Generally (for they had not much to do) persons of a curious and speculative turn of mind. Old fashioned, for a reason mentioned before. Humourists, for they were of all descriptions, and, placed in this house in ripe or middle age, they necessarily carried into it their separate habits and oddities, unqualified, if I may so speak, as into a common stock. Yet pleasant fellows, full of chat; and not a few among them had arrived at considerable proficiency on the German flute!"

Though a son of the Granite City, John Cruickshank, we take it, would have grouped entirely well, and harmonised completely, even in the item of the music, with this society of Elia and his compeers.

From Glasgow, where he made his mark in his profession, and acquired the confidence of his superiors, he returned to Aberdeen, and, in conjunction with a colleague, was appointed Manager of the Aberdeen branch of the City of Glasgow Bank. The appointment was one that brought him to reside, together with his much-loved mother, within the precincts of his hardly less-loved Bon-Accord. Ere long he had finished his period of service, and the Bank, making new arrangements,

released him from the "desk's dull wood," sanctioned his retirement from office, and gave him most honourable manumission, with a pension, which was intended to last for life.

These were the joyous days in the altogether not unjoyful life of John Cruickshank,—the joyous days when he was now released from daily duty, and was master of his own leisure, which flowed in such abundance, that he could feel the joy of the superannuated, as if he had "passed from time into eternity." Retiring too with unjaded powers, and money in both pockets, he could indulge his antiquarian and artistic tastes, dropping into a sale of books or antiques, and carrying away some treasure to delight his own eye, and to hang some story upon, for delectation of his many friends. Or, he might be found strolling about and lounging over old inscriptions in St. Nicholas or St. Clement's churches and churchyards, and criticising those editions or travesties of the Royal Arms which abound in Union Street—to him as favourite a saunter as was the Strand to Charles Lamb; and nothing pleased him more than to get a listener, sufficiently docile, who would follow him in his meanderings (always at greatest leisure, for no one ever saw John Cruickshank in a hurry), or who

would indulge him with such a modicum of attention as sufficed to keep alive the "*causeries*," always full of good humour, as he went on "crooning" away in those mélanges in which he found his chief delight.

And, if we may glance at his evenings at his own fireside, surrounded by his pretty and quaint engravings, looking up, strong Tory as he was, to his Woollett print of good honest George III.—a marvel of the engraver's art, on which he set great store—John Cruickshank looked and felt supremely happy, poring over Nisbet or Guillim, or laughing at or with some of the old humorous Scotch poets, Allan Ramsay, or Robertson of Strowan, or indulging in good-humoured sallies at the mock heroics, or mirthful pathetics, of young would-be local poets, who had the misfortune to think themselves poetical, and published their belief to an unbelieving world. To see him of an evening, with his books within call around him, hunting up some fact, or verifying some date in old forgotten days, with all the zest of a modern Monkbarns, was a sight to be remembered; and one can feel with Gibbon, that happiness derived from such a source is "greater riches than the treasures of India." Occasionally at a friend's house, when asked to a Christmas dinner, and

surrounded with romping children, his vein flowed out hilariously, not in jest and story only, but in song, and I remember on one occasion, some ten years ago, his singing, much to the delight of the youngsters, a song having for its refrain, "That wicked old man." As he twisted and twined his genial countenance into the due contortions to represent the imagined character, one felt that the beauty of the song, as sung by him, consisted in the utter remoteness of the singer from any resemblance to the portrait he pretended to portray.

But, in 1878, like a bolt from the blue, the cruel blow descended, which shattered his fortunes, and the happy afternoon of life, on which he seemed to have entered, became suddenly and grimly overcast. He had been at an excursion to Norway in that year, and on his return, just as he was stepping on shore at London, he heard newspaper boys on the wharf calling out "Stoppage of Scotch Bank," as the startling incident of the day. John Cruickshank bought a paper, and there read the tidings as to the collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank, to him a sentence most severe, extinguishing all his most cherished hopes. At a glance he discovered that his retiring allowance was gone, and what was worse, that as a shareholder he should be involved in the

general Maelstrom that must swallow up all the unfortunate victims having a share in the concern.

Nevertheless, he bore up bravely and manfully, and though the stroke was sore, he possessed his soul in patience. A less sweet nature, or a temperament less religious and devout, might have become jangled and been overthrown, but John Cruickshank stood four square against the bitter blast. There was one alleviation to his sorrow, that his mother had been mercifully taken away some time before, escaping a disaster which would have fallen on both with double severity.

His never-failing good humour served him always in good stead under the worst of times. On the first occasion that I saw him after the catastrophe, the due tribute of condolence being over, I remember John Cruickshank in no long time diverged into narrating stories of folks in similar misfortunes, and in particular he referred to the story of old Boynsmill, an Aberdeenshire laird and farmer, who had speculated rather much, and who, pursued by bankers and bailiffs, had retreated into the wilds of Mar, about Lynturk, and was for a time in hiding. Not liking particularly to show himself in church, and yet disposed to pass the Sabbath day religiously, Boynsmill had stayed at home, and

devoted himself to the study of the Old Testament. When asked by his friends, now returned from church, how he had managed to while away the time—"Ow fine," said Boynsmill; "ye see I was jist busy tryin' to compare my case and my misfortun's wi' the misfortun's in aul' time o' the patriarch Job." "Aweel, an' did ye make out the comparison?" "Weel I wyte, no; they were douce folk, the pawtriarchs, in aul' time: they bulled none!"* Poor John Cruickshank told this with the glee of a good soul that was determined to smile through its tears.

The feeling for the genuine worth of the man expressed itself in the sympathy of friends, who exerted themselves in his behalf, and were able to secure for him some little offices of light duties and small emoluments. By no incident, however, was that feeling shown more remarkably than by the notable faithfulness of his domestic servant, in the storm that overtook his household establishment. Though told she could expect no more wages, she said she would remain on, and would not leave, so giving devoted service, all for respect to her master, and thinking nothing of reward.

And so the tenor of his life proceeded, varied

* Pronounced 'non.' 'Buller,' Aberdeenshire for 'Billed,' *i.e.*, dealt in 'Bills.'

by nothing more romantic than some chase after a missing date, or rectification of some heraldic blundering, with perhaps an excursion to Norway,

> "To Norroway, To Norroway,
> To Norroway, o'er the faem,"

such as he indulged in during the last summer (1887) he was permitted to see. It is supposed that the over exertion incident to that excursion was too much for him; and thus his second little pilgrimage to Norway had accompaniments as sorrowful as the first. He returned with enfeebled powers, and the signs of shattered health showed themselves too plainly in the livid hue of lips and cheek, so that jaundice set in, with the fatal dropsy ultimately supervening. Yet, on the last occasion on which I saw him, though the eye was no longer beaming with the old brightness and twinkle, his spirits were still keen and lively, and he talked of his forthcoming book on the "Arms of Aberdeen," a lucubration on which he had bestowed much filial care. Alluding to the difficulty he had had in putting the last touches to it, he said to me, as he sat half up in bed, leaning on one elbow, striking his breast at the same time with the free arm, "Ye see, I'm a' richt here;" which I took to mean that, with feebler powers, the will and spirit were still strong

and keen. Among the subjects of conversation, reference was made to some correspondence which he had had about the authorship of certain old Scotch songs, "The Kail Brose of Auld Scotland," and another, the famous "Cauld Kail in Aberdeen." In his feebleness of utterance it so happened that his tongue was not equal to the duty of keeping these titles asunder, and the two got mixed in such a way that he felt it to be a ludicrous combination, and he burst into a loud laugh at the idea of the "Cauld Kail Brose," which had escaped him in his narration. That was the last twinkle of humour caught from the radiant, happy spirit, of John Cruickshank.

In any heraldic discussion or investigation, he found himself entirely in his element. And his advice was valued, and his opinion prized, in such investigations: as, for example, in the settling of the Arms of the Gordon College, of the Melvin Window in King's College Library, and of the Bishops' Window in St. Andrew's Church in King Street. But the Palladium to his mind centred in the heraldic honour of Aberdeen, both City and University. Besides the literary work now published, which he devoted to the Blazon of the former, he bequeathed to the latter, out of his hard-earned

savings, the touching tribute of a legacy, such as should be sufficient to obtain, from the proper Court of Arms, the authorisation which he thought desirable for recent changes, necessitated by the Union of the Colleges, in the University Arms.

This authorisation will, it is hoped, in due time be obtained, and effect will thus be given to the last wishes of the good and pious testator.

So lived, and so passed away, to his last resting-place, where he lies, in St. Peter's Churchyard, the honest-hearted and genial John Cruickshank, leaving behind him no worthier or more loyal son of Bon-Accord.

W. D. G.

University of Aberdeen,
*June 12th, 1888.*

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# THE ARMORIAL ENSIGNS OF THE ROYAL BURGH OF ABERDEEN.

## *INTRODUCTION.*

THE armorial ensigns of Aberdeen are borne by authority of the patent granted in the year 1674 by Sir Charles Erskine, Lyon King-of-Arms, which confirms the arms "of old appertaining to the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen." This patent is preserved in the archives of the city.*

In the year 1672 an Act of the Scots Parliament was passed "chargeing all and sundry Prelates, Noblemen, Barons, and Gentlemen, who make vse of any Armes or Signes armoriall, within the space of one year [after the publication of the act], to bring or send ane account of what Armes or Signes armoriall they are accustomed to vse . . . either to the Clerk of the Jurisdiction where the persones duells, or to the Lyon Clerk at his office in Edinburgh, . . . to the effect that the Lyon King-of-

* Appendix A.

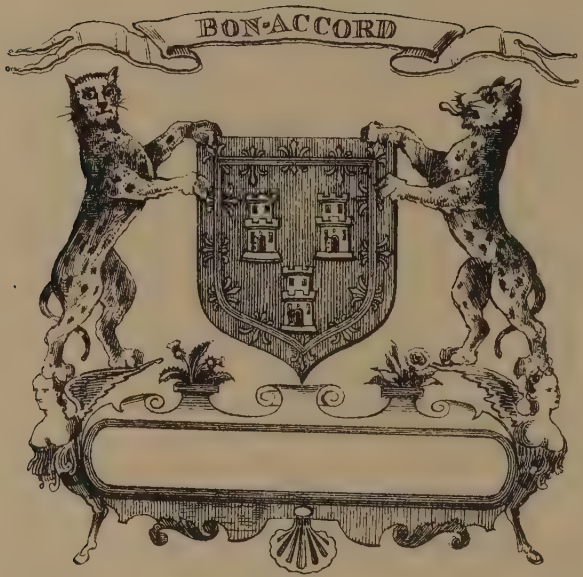
Armes may distinguish the sds with congruent differences, and may matriculat the same in his Bookes and Register."* Arnot, in the 'History of Edinburgh,' says that this act was made on account of the records of the Lyon office having been destroyed by a fire, *circa* 1670.†

The Convention of Royal Burghs held at Perth in July, 1673, ordained that all the burghs of the Kingdom should, before the next meeting of the Convention, procure extracts of their coats of arms from the Books of the Lord Lyon.‡ The Council Records of Aberdeen shew that one of the Commissioners who were appointed to represent the city had been present at the meeting, and had, on his return, reported to the Council regarding the affairs that had engaged the attention of the Convention; and, though no reference to the matter of the arms appears in the Council Records, there can be no doubt that the patent had been applied for in conformity with the ordinance of the Convention.§

Unfortunately, the emblazonment, or painting of the arms, which accompanied the patent, and which is signed by the Clerk of the Lyon Office and not

* Acts of Parliament, &c. (Charles II.), Sept. 10, 1672, Vol. VII., p. 95.

† Appendix B. ‡ Appendix C. § Appendix D.




THE ARMORIAL ENSIGNS OF THE BURGH, as shown in the erroneous drawing issued by the Lyon Office in 1674.

by the Lyon, was inaccurately drawn by the herald painter of the day, and does not conform to the wording given in the patent. The patent describes the towers in the shield as triple-towered, and the supporters simply as two leopards, making no mention of any difference between them, and thereby implying that both are in the same attitude, with the face in profile: but the towers portrayed in the emblazonment are not triple-towered; and the leopards are represented in different attitudes, the one on the dexter side full-faced, and the one on the sinister side with the face in profile. This has led to much diversity and inaccuracy in the representation of the arms of the city.

## CHAPTER I.

### *THE EARLIER COMMON SEAL.*

AT what date a seal was first used by the burgh there is no evidence forthcoming to shew. In the 'Book of Bon-Accord'* Mr. afterwards Dr. Joseph Robertson, probably founding on the statement made by Kennedy in a footnote in the 'Annals of Aberdeen,'† says that the seal there described "is said to have been used in the reign of David I." (1124-1153). The seal may have been used in the reign of that monarch, as XLVIII. of the 'Leges Burgorum' makes express mention of the seals of burghs;‡ but Kennedy when he made the statement had been misled as to the date by an entry which appears in an Inventory of the writs in the Town's charter chest, drawn up in 1772,§ in which the date of the charter of 18th April, 1350, afterwards men-

* Book of Bon-Accord, 1839—App., p. 349.

† "The town's common seal, which was used in the time of David I., bore a temple, Saint Nicholas in the porch, mitred, with the legend—*Sigillum de Communi Abirdonensi.*" Annals of Aberdeen, 1818—Second Issue—Vol. I., p. 16.

‡ Appendix E. § Appendix F.

tioned, to which the seal is appended, is erroneously given as 1150. There can be no doubt that the seal he referred to was the seal described in the Inventory, although his description of it is inaccurate. In the Inventory, there is no mention that St. Nicholas is standing in the porch of a temple; and the legend Kennedy gives, appears not on the obverse but on the reverse of the seal, encircling the three-spired church, of which he makes no mention.

The earliest authentic notice of the use of a seal by the burgh occurs in a charter by Adam Gleÿ* in favour of the Dominicans, or Black Friars, dated in 1271, which is in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. In that charter it is stated that the seals of the granters and the Common Seal of Aberdeen, at their instance, were appended thereto. The seals have disappeared, but the charter is in perfect preservation. It is given at length in the Appendix.†

[It is not unusual to find the seal of a town attached, "ad maiorem rei euidenciam," to a deed executed within the precincts of the burgh. The Aberdeen seal seems to have been so attached to each of six grants to the Carmelites or White Friars,

* [Not 'Glep,' as given in Keith's 'Catalogue of Scotch Bishops,' p. 271, and in 'Book of Bon-Accord,' p. 27.]

† Appendix G.

recited in a charter of confirmation by King David II., which bears date 7th May, 1360, and is preserved in the Marischal College charter chest.* The names of the granters and the dates are as under:—Laurence de Daleri, Friar of the order of the Holy Trinity, 1273; Gilbert de Fincht, burgess, 1274; William de Fyncht, burgess, 1285; John Crab, burgess, 1349; Mathew Pinchath, burgess, 1350;† Katherine, daughter of Walter de Welles, burgess, 1277. The first three deeds are interesting as supplying the sole extant names of thirteenth century civic rulers in Aberdeen. Their testing clauses are given in the Appendix.‡

The employment of the common seal of Aberdeen as a means of strengthening the validity of a writ was not, however, confined to purely local transactions.]

In an Act passed by the Assembly held by King John Balliol, at Dunfermline, in $129\frac{5}{6}$, ratifying the treaty between him and Philip, King of France, for the marriage of his son, Edward, to the French King's daughter, it is stated that the deed was attested on the Scotch part by four bishops, four abbots, four earls, and eleven barons; and that the seal of Aberdeen, together with the seals of five other

* Mass I., No. 3. † Cf. Appendix M. ‡ Appendix H.

burghs (Perth, Stirling, Edinburgh, Roxburgh and Berwick), was appended.*

The Deed of Homage extorted from the burgh by King Edward I. of England in 1296, makes express mention that it was sealed with the Common Seal; as appears from the Ragman Rolls.† King Edward was at Aberdeen from the 14th to the 17th July in that year.‡

In the Council held at Perth on the 17th January, $135\frac{6}{7}$, a Commission was given by Robert, Seneschal of Scotland, in favour of William and Patrick, Bishops of St. Andrews and of Brechin, and William de Leuingston, and Robert de Erskyn, Knights, constituting them ambassadors to Edward, King of England, to treat for the liberation of King David from his captivity; and it is stated that the seal of Aberdeen, named first, together with those of Dundee, Perth, and Edinburgh, was appended thereto.§

After the ransom of King David II., the seal of Aberdeen, together with those of Edinburgh, Perth, and Dundee, was appended to the conditions of peace agreed to between England and Scotland in $136\frac{4}{5}$, as appears by the Acts of Parliament.‖

* Appendix I.

† The Ragman Rolls. Instrumenta Publica sive Processus super fidelitatibus et homagiis Scotorum Domino Regi Angliæ factis, 1291-1296. Edited by Thomas Thomson, 1834. (Bannatyne Club.)

‡ Appendices J and X. § Appendix K. ‖ Appendix L.

The earliest known extant examples of the use of a seal by the burgh are found in the impressions of the seal appended to charters dated in 1350. One, bearing the date 31st March, 1350, is in the charter chest of Marischal College; and another, bearing the date 18th April, 1350, is in the charter chest of the city.* This last is the charter previously mentioned, the date of which is given erroneously by Kennedy, following the Inventory of 1772.

The next known example of the use of this seal is that appended to the 'Procuratory,' dated 26th September, 1357, which was given by the Scottish Burghs, empowering certain burgesses of Edinburgh, Perth, Aberdeen, and Dundee, to negotiate and enter into obligation for the ransom of King David the Second from his captivity in England.† The burgesses thus empowered, on the 5th October, gave an 'Obligation' for a hundred thousand merks to the King of England, and affixed to it the seals of their respective burghs. There are sixteen seals attached to the 'Procuratory,' all of them more or less decayed; and of these that of Aberdeen is the first; but there are not above two-thirds of it left.

* Appendix M.

† The names of the burgesses of Aberdeen were Laurencius de Garuok, Willelmus de Leth, and Johannes Crab.

The seals attached to the 'Obligation' have all disappeared.*

From the seal appended to the 'Obligation' of 5th October, the engravings given by Astle in the 'Vetusta Monumenta' were executed;† and from them were copied the engravings fronting the title-page of Parson Gordon's 'Description of both Touns of Aberdeen' printed for the Spalding Club, 1842. The 'Procuratory' and the 'Obligation' are in the Public Record Office in London.‡

Two other examples of this seal are found appended to charters in the charter chest of Marischal College, one dated in 1382,§ and one dated in 1408.‖

From what Astle says it may be assumed that the impression of the seal of Aberdeen appended to the 'Obligation' for the ransom of King David had been perfect when the drawings were made for the

* The text of the Procuratory and of the Obligation, with translations, will be printed in 'Charters, &c., of the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen'—now being edited for the Corporation.

† An account of the Seals of the Kings, Royal Boroughs, and Magnates of Scotland. By Thomas Astle, Esq., F.R.S. and F.S.A., one of the Curators of the British Museum, and Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London [1792].

‡ Chapter House Scots Documents, Box ?, Nos. 25 and 98.

§ Carta Joannis Craib de decem mercis Sterlingis ex omnibus suis terris in vico viridi, St. Bartholomew's Day, 1382. Mass 12. No. 54.

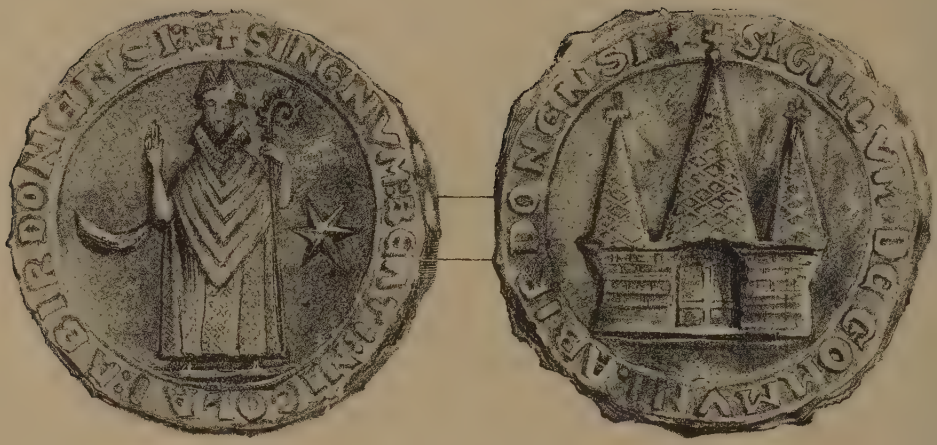
‖ William Russ, Chaplain, his charter of the Croft of Craibstone, granted by Patrick Sharpe, 22nd October, 1408. Mass 10. No. 18.

engravings of the seal given by him in 1792;* but all the seals appended to that document having now disappeared, and all the other impressions mentioned being fractured or frayed, and the legends on them illegible or incomplete, the legends he gives cannot be verified from them. But another, and a perfect impression of the seal is extant, which completely bears out the accuracy of the representations, and of the legends he gives as those on the seal. This is the seal appended to the 'Obligation' given by the burgh of Aberdeen together with like Obligations given by the burghs of Edinburgh, Perth, and Dundee, to King Henry VI. for the ransom of King James I. from his captivity in England. This 'Obligation' is also in the Public Record Office in London,† and bears the date 16th February, $142\frac{3}{4}$.‡ The full title of the document is "Obligatio Civitatis Edenburgh (Dunde, Perth, or Abr̃den as the case may be), de solutione monetæ pro liberatione Iac. Regis

* "No. V. [Plate II.] is the Seal of Aberdeen appendant to an instrument relative to the ransom of King David the Second, dated October 5, 1357, when that King was a prisoner in England."—Account of the Seals, &c., p. 14.

† Chapter House Scots Documents, Box xxxviii., No. 12.

‡ The credit of discovering this example of the early seal is due to Mr. John Forbes Robertson, London. Through the courtesy of Sir William Hardy, Deputy Keeper of the Rolls, and the authorities of the Record Office, permission was obtained by Mr. Robertson to have the seal photographed; and the Deed to which it is appended was sent by them to Mr. Pretorius of the British Museum, by whom the photographs were taken which are now in the possession of the Corporation, and from which the illustrations herewith given of the seal have been copied.



SEAL OF ABERDEEN in use till 1423-24.

Scotiæ Henrico Sexto Regi Angliæ."* The order in which the towns are named in the documents themselves is "Edenburgh, Perth, Dunde et Abreden," but the four sheets of parchment are stitched in this order—Dundee, Aberdeen, Perth, Edinburgh. From the seal of Aberdeen, appended to the 'Obligation' given by the burgh, the legends on the older imperfect impressions of the seal can be completely substantiated.

On the obverse of the seal St. Nicholas is represented standing mitred and vested, his right hand uplifted in the act of benediction, and his left hand holding a pastoral staff. To the right of the figure is a crescent, and to the left a star of six points. These undoubtedly are symbols of a ship, and a guiding star, and indicate that he is the patron saint of mariners, for which reason he had been assumed as the patron saint of Aberdeen, as he was of numerous other sea-board towns.†

The legend around this side of the seal is:—"SINGNUM: BEATI: NICOLAI: ABIRDONENSI:" 'Si*n*gnum' for 'Signum' bears

* The text of the 'Obligation' with translation will be given in 'Charters, &c., of the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen.'

† "As patron of seamen, St. Nicholas is especially popular in seaport towns. About 376 Churches in England are dedicated in his honour." Sacred and Legendary Art. By Mrs. Jameson, 1879, Vol. ii. (The Patron Saints of Christendom), p. 457.

witness to the mediæval origin of the seal.*

On the reverse there is represented a wall of dressed masonry, having a closed, two-leaved, banded gate in the centre, and three spires rising above the coping of the wall; the one in the middle rising higher than the others, and each spire having a cross as a terminal.

The most obvious inference is that the representation on the reverse indicates the wall of the burgh and the great church within the wall, dedicated to St. Nicholas, in which relics of the Saint were believed to be enshrined. Such is the opinion embodied in the Inventory of Writs drawn up in 1772, previously referred to.

The legend around this side of the seal is:—"SIGILLUM: DE: COMMUNI: ABIRDONENSI:"

In the 'Vetusta Monumenta,' under "Addenda and Corrigenda," Astle says—"The reverse of the Seal of Aberdeen may be interpreted from the following paragraph in the 'Ducatiana,' Vol. I., p. 197, Amst., 1738: 'Châsses des Saints are of two sorts, one in the form of a coffer, the other surmounted with pyramids, and bearing the re-

* [The counter seal of the burgh of Edinburgh, circa 1392, shews the form 'Sizgno.'—Laing, I., p. 210, and Plate xxix., fig. 4.]

semblance of a castle, which last, as Furetière observes, were termed Mausolea.'" Astle says also, that "according to some writers Nicholas was bishop of Aberdeen in the twelfth century, and might afterwards have been canonized."

As St. Nicholas, who according to tradition was Bishop or Archbishop of Myra in Syria, died and was buried at Myra, in the fourth century, and as his remains were in the end of the eleventh century carried off by some merchant adventurers to Bari in Southern Italy, and interred there, the conjecture of Astle that the representation on the reverse of the seal indicates the Mausoleum of the Saint, can only be considered fanciful; as the Mausoleum, if such it was, represented by the walls and spires, could not have contained the remains of that Saint. The statement relating to his having been bishop of Aberdeen is devoid of any foundation.

This was the earliest form of seal used by burghs. In the preface to the 'Supplemental Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals,' Mr. Henry Laing says:—"All the burghs, royal or baronial, had, from the earliest period of their erection, a common seal, the design on which was generally the patron saint, or the shield of the baron from whom its privileges were held; it is not, however, at all common to find

any shields on the early burgh seals."* He further says, in the 'Supplemental Catalogue,' that "the style and workmanship of this seal [of Aberdeen] conclusively prove it to have been executed much earlier than the date of the document to which it is appended"† *i.e.*, the 'Procuratory' of 1357, which is the document he cites. But that does not imply that it is rude; and the bands shewn on the gate, and the tiling on the steeples, are well executed.

Mr. Laing gives lithographic drawings of the seal,‡ and from what he says in the preface§ relating to the drawings which he gives of other seals, it may be inferred that the representations of this seal were executed from photographs. But as the seal had been fractured, part of the legends he gives must have been supplied from conjecture, as it is obvious, judging both from Astle's representations executed in 1792, and from the complete legends on the seal of $142\frac{3}{4}$, that the legend given by Mr. Laing, as that on the obverse, is inaccurate, and that for 'Signum,' 'Si*n*gnum' should be read.‖

* 'Supplemental Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals.' By Henry Laing, Edinburgh, 1866. Pref., p. xviii.

† Ibid, No. 1198, p. 213.

‡ Ibid, Plate xiv., fig. 6, 8. § Ibid, Pref., p. xvi.

‖ [Not merely does part of the legend seem to have been supplied by Mr. Laing from conjecture, but his whole representation is of a most inaccurate kind. The dimensions and the spacing of the letters have been altered, and

the right hand of the Saint is wrongly depicted. The inscriptions appear as—

SIGNUM BEATI NICOLAI ABIRDONENSIS

and

SIGILLVM DE COMMVNI ABIRDONENSIS.

To make matters worse, Mr. Laing in his text (p. 213) gives still another reading— SIGNUM BEATI NICOLAI ABERDONENSIS

and

SIGILLUM DE COMMVNI ABERDONESIS.

The true rendering is that given above, and shown in the accompanying plate.

So the legend on the seal of Dundee is given by Laing (both in text and plate) as 'Signum,' &c. ; but by Astle as 'Sιgnum,' &c.]

## CHAPTER II.

### *THE LATER COMMON SEAL.*

NO further example is found of the use of the early seal after the date of the Obligation for the ransom of King James in $142\frac{3}{4}$; and the first representation of armorial bearings of the burgh is found on the fine seal—the matrices of which are in the possession of the Corporation, and which continued to be appended to charters granted by the Corporation as late as the year 1675, and probably was used till the practice of impressing seals on the documents themselves superseded the older method.

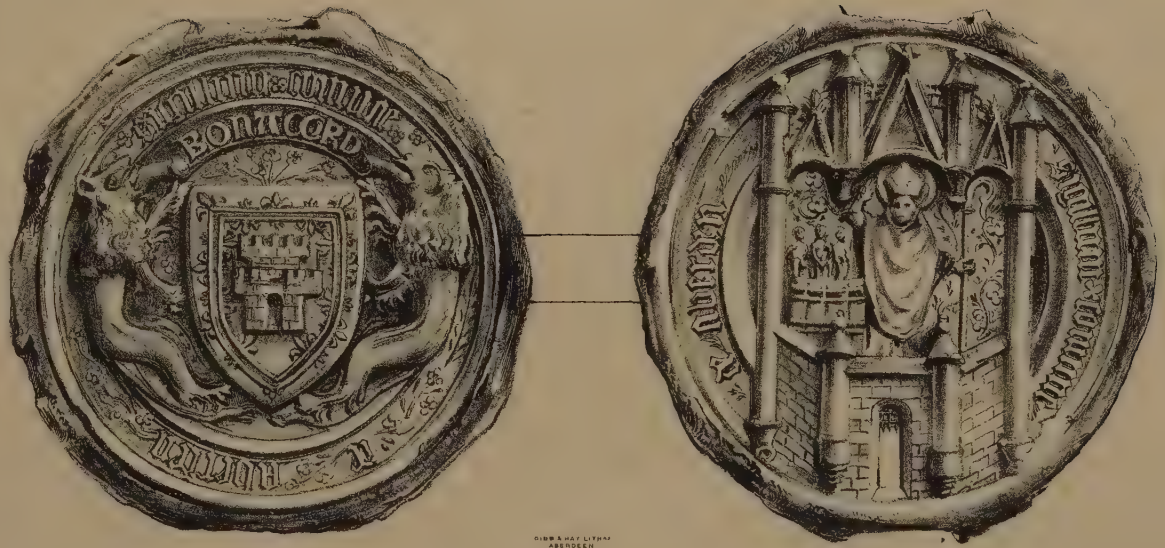
The matrices bear on the back of the seal, and of the counter-seal, the following inscription in old English letters:

✠ Ye Zer of Grac MCCCCXXX. Jon ye Uaus was Alderman and yes sel mad.

In the chronological list of Provosts of the city given by Skene in the 'Succinct Survey,'* and by Kennedy in the 'Annals of Aberdeen,'† Joannes

* Succinct Survey of the famous City of Aberdeen, 1685, pp. 246-254.

† Annals of Aberdeen, 1818, Vol. II., pp. 230-233.




SEAL OF ABERDEEN, matrices dated 1430, in the possession of the Corporation.

Vaus appears as holding the office, then designated "Alderman," in the years 1429 and 1430; as well as in years before and after these dates.

On the obverse of this seal the arms appear on a shield as one tower* (the upper portion rising out of a battlemented under-structure), within the double tressure of the Royal Arms of Scotland, counter-flowered with sixteen *fleurs-de-lis*. The shield is supported by two animals, presumably meant for

leopards, but represented with leonine manes, and with tufts on the tips of the tails, which pass down behind their legs; their faces are in profile, and a scroll, the ends of which are held in their mouths, contains the motto "BONACCORD."†

On the reverse of the seal, within a masoned wall, having an open gateway in the centre, and a

*[The building has the appearance of a triumphal arch, as in the accompanying sketch, rather than of a tower. Regarding the typical heraldic tower, see note on p. 25.]

† See, regarding the motto, Michel's 'Civilisation in Scotland,' p. 416.

suspended portcullis in the gateway, St. Nicholas is represented standing under a triple-coned canopy, mitred and vested, his right hand uplifted in the act of benediction, and his left hand holding a pastoral staff; behind him, on his right, appears his special emblem, the three children in the tub, and they are obviously introduced to indicate the Saint that is represented.*

The legend on the seal is the same on the obverse and on the reverse:—"SIGILLUM : COMUNE : DE : ABERDEN :"

The matrix of the obverse of the seal is apparently somewhat injured, as it does not represent the central part of the tower in a complete form. This defect appears on the earliest impressions of the seal; and there is evidence of a brass pin having been inserted, the head of it being visible on the back of the matrix. Probably this may have been done with the view of remedying the defect, but, if so, it had not been a successful expedient: and the defect may possibly have been increased by the pin thrusting out the front part of the centre of the matrix, and leaving it as it now appears.

* Appendix N. [Mr. Joseph Robertson in his 'Municipal Statutes of Aberdeen,' says—"The seal of the Bishops of Aberdeen anciently represented the same legend"; but this statement is not borne out by Mr. Henry Laing in his 'Catalogue of Scottish Seals.' Compare the representation on the Seal of Henry Hervy, Archdean of Moray, shewn in annexed plate.]

SEAL of Henry Hervy, Archdean of Murray, appended to Discharge by Giles of Murray, Lady of Culbyne, to Gilbert Menzies, burgess of Aberdeen, 8th May, 1438.

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3 QUEEN ST ABDN

In the 'Supplemental Descriptive Catalogue,'* Mr. Laing says—"With respect to the armorial ensigns of the burghs of Scotland, they are, in most instances, merely a transference of the design of the earlier common seal to a shield, thereby giving the desired heraldic character. Aberdeen is the earliest instance we have yet met of proper armorial ensigns on a common seal. The date is 1430"; and, after giving a somewhat inaccurate description of the seal, he adds—"Neither on the seals, nor in the patent, is any crest given, and we believe the burgh has never assumed any."

In the 'Book of Bon-Accord'† it is stated that the matrix of the city seal, which superseded the older seal, was exhibited to a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in the year 1839;‡ and an opinion is advanced by Mr. Robertson as to the date and the origin of the seal. After describing the older seal, he says—"The city seal which replaced it does not appear of an older date than the fifteenth century"; and, with regard to the origin, "The [older] seal perhaps betrays the origin of the new arms, and of the heraldic fable which

* Suppl. Descr. Cat., Pref., pp. xvii., xviii.

† Book of Bon-Accord. App., p. 349.

‡ "1839. Jan. 28. Remarks on the Ancient Seal of the City of Aberdeen. By Joseph Robertson, Esq., Corr. Memb. S. A. Sc."—Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. IV., App., p. 30.

accompanies them"; and, after citing Astle's conjecture as to *Châsses des Saints*, he asks, as conclusive on the subject, "Did not the triple-towered shrine, or *châsse de saint*, give to later heralds the hint of the three castles?"

Mr. Cosmo Innes, in the Preface to Parson Gordon's 'Description of Both Touns of Aberdeen,' adopts the statement of Mr. Robertson, and enlarges upon it.* As to the date, he says that, from the workmanship and the shape of the letters of its legends, it is probably not earlier than the beginning of the fifteenth century. He then occupies a page with stating that although—from the appearance on the seal of St. Nicholas, who was the tutelar saint of scholars and clerks—it might be suspected, in the absence of contrary evidence, that the seal is of a date subsequent to the foundation of the University, he feels constrained to admit that the appearance and style of the seal are much against that supposition.

After making some reflections on Kennedy, "the City Annalist," and on Bishop Keith, and Hector Boece, with reference to the origin of the arms, Mr. Innes states his conclusion on the subject as follows: "The intelligent antiquary will not fail to recognise

* Appendix O.

in the triple-towered shrine of St. Nicholas of the more ancient seal, the type of the triple-towered castle that figures on a shield, and within the Royal tressure of Scotland, on the later one. By an easy gradation from thence we have the three separate towers, now the armorial bearing of the city."* In a footnote he says that it is to the author of the 'Book of Bon-Accord' that he is indebted for the theory of the origin of the city arms which he had given.

The description given by Mr. Innes is somewhat confused, and the edifice he refers to is not a castle, nor can it be described as triple-towered. This is obvious, judging even from the engraving of the seal facing the title-page of the 'Description.'

Regarding the origin of the representations on the seal, notwithstanding the theory put forth by Mr. Robertson and Mr. Innes, the intelligent herald will be slow to recognise that the tower which appears on the seal, and which is called by the Professor the triple-towered castle, is any development of the three-spired edifice which appears on the older seal. The representations on that seal are combined on the reverse of the newer seal, where St. Nicholas is represented

* Descr. of Both Touns, Pref., p. xi.

standing under a triple-coned canopy, obviously within the wall of the burgh which is shown with the gateway open, and a suspended portcullis in place of the closed, banded gate which appears on the older seal. St. Nicholas is not named on the newer as he is on the older seal, and the crescent and star which appear on it are not reproduced, but the appearance of his special emblem shows unmistakeably that he is the saint represented. This bears out the inference that the reverse of the older seal represents the wall of the burgh, and the church dedicated to St. Nicholas within the wall, and not a *Châsse de Saint* or mausoleum.*

The tower on the obverse indicates a distinct origin, and the tressure of the Royal Arms of Scotland which surrounds it is indisputable evidence of a royal grant. Aberdeen and Perth are the only burghs which display the Royal tressure, and this distinction could not have been assumed, and could have been conferred only for signal services. Both these burghs, if all legendary accounts are not to be disregarded, were subjected to much

* The absurdity of the supposition as to the date of the seal being after the foundation of the University, and as to the development of the three-spired edifice of the older seal into the tower shewn on the newer, was well set forth in a letter by "F.S.A., Scotland," which appeared in the "Aberdeen Journal," 5th November, 1883. See Appendix P.

hardship, and there can be no doubt Aberdeen was plundered and burned for the attachment which its citizens displayed to the cause of King Robert Bruce, and King David, his son. The heraldic point relating to the Royal tressure has been left out of account by the learned antiquaries, and the theory that they propound cannot be upheld.

[Additional proof of a Royal grant is furnished by the presence of the leopards. "Supporters," says Mr. Seton,* are "an armorial distinction of the highest order." It by no means follows that even the Lyon King can, of his own authority, issue a new grant of supporters. "Such a prerogative can be exercised only by the Sovereign, as the Fountain of Honour, from whom the Lord Lyon himself receives his appointment." Few Corporations, either in England or in Scotland, have had supporters granted them; and the grants have always been made in recognition of some special merit on the part of the recipients. Of the sixty-six Royal burghs of Scotland only six, besides Aberdeen, have any claim to this honourable distinction.]†

* [The Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland. Edinburgh, 1863, p. 285]

† [These are Edinburgh (a maid richly attired, with her hair hanging over her shoulders, and a doe, both proper); Glasgow (two salmon fishes proper); Dundee (two dragons vert, their tails nowed together beneath the shield); Perth (the shield is borne on the breast of a double-headed eagle displayed or); Montrose (two mermaids arising from the sea proper); and Inverness (a camel and an elephant, both proper). The five first-named burghs have rematriculated arms subsequent to the Act of 1672.]

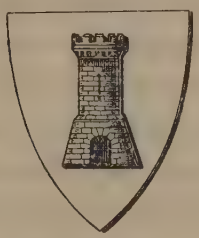
Referring to Mr. Robertson's theory of the origin of the arms, Mr. (now Sir) Charles Farquhar Shand, Advocate, in his 'Biographical Memoir of Bishop Patrick Forbes,'* says—"There is a point of some antiquarian interest to which we take the liberty of here adverting, . . . . we mean the origin of the Armorial Bearings of the City of Aberdeen . . . . It may, we fear, appear something like presumption to throw any doubt on the origin of the arms of the city of Aberdeen suggested by the accomplished author of 'The Book of Bon-Accord,' and of which the learned editor of the 'Description of Both Touns of Aberdeen' has approved. However, we think the conjecture is at least a pardonable one that the three castles in the arms of the city owe their position there to the three eminences of local topographers—the Castle Hill, the Port Hill, and St. Catherine's Hill, on the slopes of which the early settlers built their habitations, and the tops of which were doubtless rudely fortified—the settlement thus presenting the appearance of three castles, which it must have retained for centuries after its first foundation."

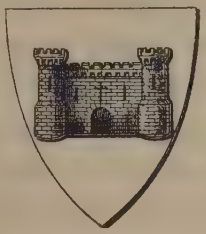
This appears a much more likely theory as to

* The Funeral Sermons, Orations, and Epitaphs on Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen. From the original edition of 1635. Edited by C. F. Shand, 1845. 8vo. (Spottiswoode Society), Pref., p. xxiv.

the origin of the arms than that propounded by Mr. Robertson and Mr. Innes; but it cannot be accepted as proving the origin of the representation on the obverse of the seal of 1430. As previously mentioned, that shews a single tower, and not a castle, which in heraldry is represented differently from a tower.*

As to the date of the seal, that point is set at rest by the inscriptions on the matrices in possession of





the Corporation, which, as previously stated, bear the date 1430. Mr. Robertson, in the appendix cited, says that the matrix of the seal, which replaced the older seal, was in the possession of Mr. Walter Duthie, W.S., Edinburgh, and was exhibited to the meeting of the Society of

* [A tower appears as an embattled structure, somewhat like the ordinary chessrook, with a port and a window. A castle shews two such towers, but without ports, and connected by a curtain wall having a gateway in the centre. According to Guillim, when a castle is represented, "the Architecture or Masonry extendeth itself all over the Field from one side of the Escocheon to the other," while a tower "is environed by the field"; but when three towers or castles enter into the blazon this distinction of necessity ceases. In the accompanying sketch neither the tower nor the castle is "triple-towered." Compare the armorial ensigns of Edinburgh, Dublin, and Newcastle.]

Antiquaries in 1839, and that it did not appear to be of older date than the beginning of the fifteenth century.* As the date was the subject of speculation on that occasion, it may be inferred that the matrix, or matrices, exhibited were duplicates which did not bear the date. Mr. Duthie was the Edinburgh agent of the Corporation of Aberdeen, and may have had duplicates which they had ceased to use. If the original matrices had been exhibited there could have been no need for any conjecture on the subject of the date.

Mr. Innes, in his preface to Parson Gordon's 'Description,' makes no mention of the matrix being exhibited; but says it was from impressions of a brass seal and counter-seal in Mr. Duthie's possession that had been used as the common seal of the burgh in the fifteenth century, that the upper seal figured in the plate prefixed to the title-page of the 'Description' was copied. He also advances the conjecture that the seal was not of earlier date than the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Whether he formed his opinion from an examination of the impressions, or adopted it as he did the theory relating to the origin of the arms, he does

* Book of Bon-Accord, App., pp. 349-350.

not say; neither does he say that he had seen the matrices which were exhibited in 1839. But his describing those in Mr. Duthie's possession as being of brass, while those in the possession of the Corporation are of bronze, tends further to disprove the supposition that the original matrices were those in Mr. Duthie's possession.

However, he completely disposes of all conjectures in the note he communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in June, 1863,* when he reverted to the subject. He there stated that since his observations on the seal were made in 1842, other matrices had been found bearing the date 1430; and that they were exhibited to the Society at that meeting. As these—from the inscriptions upon them—afforded the evidence of the date, there can be no doubt that they were those belonging to the Corporation which had been lent on the occasion.†

The rendering given in that note of the inscription on the backs of these matrices is not literally correct. The inscription is not "*The yer of gras M.CCCC. XXX. jon the vaus was alderman and this sel mad*"; but, as given previously when the seal was described:

* Appendix Q.

† [The explanation of the existence of two sets of matrices will be found in certain communications which appeared in the 'Aberdeen Journal' for 1846. See Appendix R.]

"*Ye . ȝer . of . grac . M.CCCC.XXX. jon . ye . vaus . was . alderman . and . yes . sel . mad.*"

The legends given in the note as those on the older seal, to which he also adverted, are inaccurate. By referring to the illustrations copied from the photographs of the seal of $142\frac{3}{4}$, executed in the British Museum, it will be seen that on the obverse "Singnum . Beati . Nicolai . Abirdonensi." should be read for "Singnum . Beati . Nicolai . Aberdonensis"; and, on the reverse, "Sigillum . de . communi . Abirdonensi" for "Sigillum . de . communi . Aberdonensi."

The legend so often advanced as to the origin of the new arms on the obverse of the seal of 1430, and so emphatically controverted in the 'Book of Bon-Accord,'* and by Mr. Cosmo Innes, at second-hand, may now be considered. †

Neither of the learned antiquaries had been aware of the older seal being appended to the 'Obligation' for the ransom of King James I. in $142\frac{3}{4}$; otherwise they could have made a much stronger case against the legend of the grant having been conferred by King Robert Bruce, or by King David II.

* Appendix S.

† See 'People's Journal' for 22nd April, 1882; 'Notes and Queries' for 4th September, 1886, p. 188; and 'Aberdeen Evening Gazette' for 18th and 27th December, 1886.

PRIVY SEAL of King James I., appended to Obligation granted to the Burghs of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Perth, and Dundee, 26th March, 1424.

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7 QUEEN ST. ABDN.

The last example known of the use of the older seal being that appended to the 'Obligation' in $142\frac{3}{4}$, and the later seal bearing the date 1430, obviously point to the conclusion that the arms on that seal had been substituted for the bearing on the older seal between 1424 and 1430. These facts seem to dispose conclusively of the statements that this grant of the arms was given by Robert Bruce, or King David II.; and the inference to be drawn from them is that the grant of the tower, and the Royal tressure, and the lion supporters, had been conferred by King James I.

A comparison of the seal with the Privy Seal of that monarch will tend to confirm this assumption. His seal, from an impression among the Panmure charters, is engraved in the 'Descriptive Catalogue, in which Mr. Laing assigns to it the date of 1429. But the representation here given is from a more perfect example appended to the 'Letter of Obligation,' given by King James to the four burghs for the repayment of his ransom, which is in the possession of the Corporation of Aberdeen.* From the form of the shield, the counter-flowering of the tressure, the lions which support the shield, and the ornamentation around it, being almost identically the same as on

* Inventory of Writs, A1, No. 25. To be printed with translation in 'Charters, &c., of Aberdeen.'

the Privy Seal, it may almost certainly be concluded, not only that the grant of the arms had been given by him, but that the execution of both seals was by the same artist. The King's Seal is the more finely executed of the two; but that need not be held as disproving the inference.

As the 'Letter of Obligation' is still in the possession of the Corporation, it is not improbable that the grant of the arms was all the citizens received in return for their share of the ransom. James' death soon after may have been the reason why the 'Obligation' was never implemented, as he was a good and worthy King. But so the matter stands.

The Records of the Town Council from 1398 to the present time are complete, with the exception of the volume from 1414 to 1433, which unfortunately is wanting. This volume would embrace the records of the city during the greater part of the reign of King James I.; and there can be little doubt—as in after years there are minute directions regarding the city seals, as will be afterwards shewn—that the grant of the arms by King James had been minuted.

Notwithstanding the vituperation bestowed on Hector Boece in the 'Book of Bon-Accord,' which is emphasised by Mr. Cosmo Innes in his "Preface"

before mentioned, and echoed by Mr. Hill Burton,* Hector Boece is not responsible for the statement that the grant of the armorial bearings was conferred by either King Robert Bruce or King David. He tells the story of an attack on the castle by the citizens and the followers of Bruce, whether of Robert or David he does not state; but he says not a word of the armorial bearings being conferred.† His silence on the subject of the arms shews that he was not so credulous as the two antiquarian authorities represent him to have been.

By the time that Boece wrote his account of the capture of the castle the new armorial seal had been in use for about a hundred years; and it seems improbable that, in connection with such an account, he would have omitted all reference to the legend (if it had been current in the form in which it appears a century later), attributing the grant of the arms to either King Robert or King David Bruce. That seems to be a seventeenth century invention.

* "See in the Book of Bon-Accord an examination bringing home the whole story to Boece's inventive genius."—History of Scotland, 1867, Vol. II., footnote, p. 371.

Neither Mr. Cosmo Innes, nor Mr. Hill Burton, appears to have investigated for himself the accuracy of the statement attributed to Boece in the Book of Bon-Accord. [It is not improbable that the error may be traced to a phrase, "*ut refert Boetius*," used in 1702 by Professor William Smith, when accounting for the origin of the City Arms. See Appendix U. Mr. Robertson quotes, inaccurately, the passage from Smith's book, in his 'Municipal Statutes, &c., of Aberdeen,' p. 29.]

† Appendix T.

As Boece does not mention the armorial grant, it may be assumed that the animadversions in the 'Book of Bon-Accord,' where he is designated as "the father of lies," and his narration as being "from beginning to end a clumsy and ill-devised falsehood, . . . made by him alone," can hâve reference only to his account relating to the capture and demolition of the castle.*

There is nothing incredible involved in his account of that event, whether it occurred in the time of King Robert or of King David. The names, Castlehill and Castlegate,—which are still the designations of these localities in the ordinary parlance of the inhabitants, although the latter has been dubbed a street, which it is not,—are conclusive as to the fact of a castle having existed. That it was attacked, and the English garrison expelled, is borne out by King Edward II.'s letter of 10 July, 1308; and that it had been demolished in the time of the Bruces can hardly be doubted, as no mention appears of its being in existence when the English forces, in their endeavour to recover their position, invaded the city in the time of David Bruce, and were, according to Boece's account, defeated by the citizens in

* Book of Bon-Accord, pp. 33-34.

the churchyard, and the bodies of the slain buried at the back entrance of the Church of St. Nicholas. Neither is there any mention of the castle, when, in 1336, the forces of King Edward III., which were sent to revenge the losses sustained by the English, sacked the city, and gave it to the flames for six days.

Whatever was the origin of the motto BONACCORD, which for the first time appears on the seal of 1430, Sir George Mackenzie is the first who attributed the granting of it to King Robert Bruce. In the erroneous copy which he sets forth as the patent of the arms of the Burgh of Aberdeen, confirmed by Sir Charles Erskine, Lyon King, in 1674, and as an example of concessions of arms, he interpolates, within brackets, the words, presumably his own—"The Word BON-ACCORD was given them by King ROBERT BRUCE, for killing all the English in one night in their Town, their Word being that night BON-ACCORD."* There is nothing of this in the patent of 1674, which is in the possession of the Corporation of Aberdeen. That document contains much more in the narrative than is given by Sir George Mackenzie; but not a word of Robert

* Science of Herauldry, ed. 1680, p. 9. Sir George calls the Saint that appears on the reverse of the seal, Saint *Michael*. See Appendix V for this erroneous document, which is there given, for comparison with Sir Charles Erskine's patent in Appendix A.

Bruce. Why the censure bestowed on Hector Boece, and on Skene, Kennedy, and others, was not extended to Sir George Mackenzie, if his statement is an invention, would be best known to Mr. Robertson and Mr. Innes.

The account of the capture of the castle does not rest on Boece's authority alone. Bishop Lesley,* who wrote in the same century as Boece, also makes mention of its demolition, which he states to have occurred in the time of King Robert Bruce; but he says nothing as to the grant of the armorial ensigns.†

The Council Records do not extend farther back than the time of King Robert III., and there is no mention of a castle found in them. As that monarch granted a charter in 1394, empowering the burgesses and community to build a *pretorium*, or Town Hall, "faciendi construendi et edificandi vnam domum pro pretorio,"‡ it may be concluded that the castle was not in existence.§

* De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum. Rome, 1578. See Appendix W.

† [No reference to the destruction of the castle is to be found in Fordun's Scotichronicon, Wyntoun's Orygynal Cronykil, Major's De Gestis Scotorum, or Buchanan's Rerum Scoticarum Historia.]

‡ 'Charters, &c., of Aberdeen,' p. 21.

§ In order to carry on more continuously the account relating to the seals and armorial ensigns, King Edward's letter, and some of the questions raised in relation to the attack on the castle, and its demolition, will be considered in a separate Appendix X. [left unfinished by Mr. Cruickshank.]

SEAL, "ad causas," appended to Inquisition, held in the Castle of Aberdeen, 1440, from a Cast in the British Museum.

SEAL, "ad causas," appended to "Factory and Commission by the Baillies, Council, and Community," &c., &c., of date 12th September, 1537; and to "Factory and Commission," &c., of date 6th August, 1541, both in the possession of the Corporation.

## CHAPTER III.

### *THE SEALS AD CAUSAS.*

THE tower of the 1430 seal appears, multiplied by three,* on another seal of almost contemporary date.

Mr. Laing, in his 'Descriptive Catalogue,'† includes a seal of causes, which he describes as "appended to an Inquisition taken within the Castle of Aberdeen. A.D. 1440—*Marr Charters*," and as showing "the armorial bearings of the burgh, three towers within a double tressure flowered and counter-flowered," and the legend—

SIGILLUM SECRETUM BURGENSIN [*sic*] VILLE ABIERDANUS [*sic*] AD CAUSAS.

The present whereabouts of the deed cited has not been ascertained, and so it has been impossible to verify the date, which, with characteristic inconsistency, Mr. Laing elsewhere‡ gives as 1444. But

* See Appendix P—Second Letter.

† Descr. Cat. of Ancient Scottish Seals, 1850, p. 208, No. 1148.

‡ Suppl. Descr. Cat. 1866. Pref., p. xix.

a cast of the seal is preserved in the British Museum, and from it the annexed illustration has been copied. It will be seen that the true reading of the inscription is—

**Sigillum Secretum Burgensiū Ville Abierdanensis ad Causas.**

The shape of the shield and the lettering resemble those of the seal of 1430, but the supporters are now absent, and the bearings, though somewhat defaced, are unmistakably represented as three towers, whether triple-towered or not it is impossible to say.

The signification of the phrase 'Castle of Aberdeen' in Mr. Laing's description is by no means obvious. Probably the town hall is meant. In his 'Earldom of Mar'* Lord Crawford gives an account of an inquest in connection with the Mar case, which was held in 1438 in the 'praetorium' or town hall of Aberdeen.

We find several incidental references to this secret seal in the pages of the Town Council Register. In 1447 it is "seelit with the alderman's seel in a purs."† In 1462 it is affixed to a bond of manrent between the Earl of Huntly and the

* The Earldom of Mar in Sunshine and Shade, Vol. I., p. 283.

† Appendix Y.

Magistrates and Community of Aberdeen.* In 1463 the Council ordain the two seals to remain in the keeping of the Alderman for the time being.

But it seems to have had only a short lease of life, for in 1537 a new seal of causes, not mentioned by Mr. Laing, is found appended to a Factory and Commission by the Bailies, Council and Community, of date 12th September. A second example in better preservation, from which the accompanying illustration is copied, is attached to another Factory and Commission of 5th August, 1541.†

The new seal is a debased copy of the older form, the legend now being—

**Sigillum Secretum Burgi Abirdonen ad causas.**

A not very accurate representation is given on the titlepage of the second volume of Kennedy's 'Annals,' but no reference to the seal occurs in the body of that work.

Of neither seal 'ad causas' is the matrix extant. From an entry in the Council Register‡ it would appear that in 1670 a third privy seal was ordered to be made "inlargeit with supporters in the best forme," but of it no further mention has been found.

The 'authentic or common seal,' we learn from Ruddiman's Introduction to Anderson's 'Diplomata

* See Council Register, v., 467. † Appendix Z. ‡ Appendix Y.

Scotiæ,'* was used "in public matters . . . . but the privy seal got its name from this, that it was used in more secret affairs—for example in epistles. Letters sealed with this last seal were for most part shut; and such as were sealed with the authentic seal were open."* In the Council Register for 1593 it is stated that the privy seal was appended to testimonials and borebrieves "that passis to uther pairtis beyond sey."†

* Appendix A A. † Appendix Y.

## CHAPTER IV.

### *THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS.*

THE earliest existing description of the Aberdeen arms appears to be that given in Parson Gordon's MS.,* and, as it makes no mention of the reverse of the seal described in the patent of 1674, it may be assumed that, although Parson Gordon was alive till the 26th September 1686, the description he gives of the arms had been drawn up at an earlier date than that of the patent, and before Sir George Mackenzie's heraldic work appeared. The blazon given in the MS. accords with the usage followed in the representations of the arms in the seventeenth century before the patent was issued. The legend of the grant being conferred by King *David* Bruce is accepted; but there is no reference to St. Nicholas.†

The first to cite Sir George Mackenzie's erroneous copy of the patent is Bailie Alexander Skene of Newtyle, ΦΙΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΟΥΣ,‡ and upon the strength

*[Two metrical descriptions of seemingly prior date have escaped Mr. Cruickshank's notice. They are given in Appendix B B.]

†Appendix C C. ‡Appendix D D.

of the statement made in it, which attributes the motto to King *Robert* Bruce, he bases his statement that the armorial ensigns, of which he gives the full blazon, were conferred in honour of the exploit of the citizens in cutting off the English garrison, and levelling the castle with the ground. He also assigns the date of the occurrence to the time of King *David;* but he does not say that the arms were conferred by him, and he avoids the error in the copy he was quoting, with respect to the patron-saint, and names St. *Nicholas*, and not St. Michael. His statement that the ensigns armorial were conferred "in honour of that resolute act," is not alone credible, but the only probable reason that can be assigned; and the introduction of the castle, or tower, and the Royal tressure on the new seal, indicate that the expulsion of the English garrison, and the demolition of the castle, had not been forgotten in 1430, when the armorial ensigns were substituted for the representations on the older seal, unquestionably by grant of King James I.

The appearance of the Royal tressure, and of the lion supporters, affords corroboration of the inference. The Royal tressure, as has been previously stated, could not have been assumed by the burgh; and

ARMS OF JAMES IV., dated 1504, as they appear on a Buttress of King's College, Aberdeen.

the appearance of the lion supporters for the first time on the Privy Seal of King James, and immediately afterwards on the burgh seal, still further bears out the conclusion that King James granted these to the burgh. Mr. Laing says that "the Privy Seal of James I. is the earliest instance of the National Arms having supporters, and these it will be seen are lions." *

The patent of 1674 states distinctly that the arms thereby confirmed were granted and confirmed to the burgh by his then Majesty King Charles II.'s most royal predecessors, for the loyal services performed to them. No more loyal services could have been performed than those rendered by the citizens to King Robert Bruce, and to his son, King David. None of the other burghs—north of the Forth at least, save Perth—had been so active in supporting the cause of the Bruces; and none suffered the like sacking and burning. This may well account for these

* Descriptive Catalogue. Preface, p. xvi. Mr. Laing, however, is not accurate in the further statement he goes on to make that "the unicorns do not make their appearance before the reign of Mary, whose great seal brings us acquainted with them." A single unicorn statant appears on the gold coins of James III. supporting the royal shield (Ruddiman—'Numismata Aurea,' cliii.), and two unicorns, beautifully carved, and standing in the usual manner, gorged and chained, on a compartment, appear on one of the buttresses of King's College, Aberdeen, supporting the shield of arms of King James IV., and the date carved in raised letters on the slab is: 'Anno Domini 1504.' They also appeared, carved obviously by the same artistic hand, on a buttress of Melrose Abbey in 1856, and the date on that slab was 1505. Possibly the slab is still in existence; but, in the account given of it in the 'Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland' (II. 171), when the paper relating to it was read in 1856, it is stated that it was crumbling away. The carving on the slab on the buttress of King's College is in perfect preservation.

burghs being those alone that display the Royal tressure: the distinguishing mark of Royal favour.

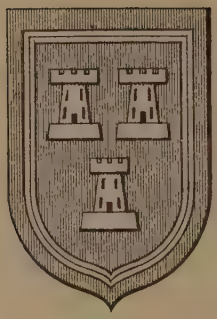
Nisbet, who in his heraldic works (1718-22) gives two slightly different blazons of the Aberdeen arms,* accepts Sir George Mackenzie's statements in their entirety, attributing the grant of arms to King *Robert* Bruce, and styling the patron saint St. *Michael;* and he also puts forward the legend as accounting for the 'honourable additament' of the tressure.

The next writer† that cites the erroneous copy of the patent is Kennedy, 'the Aberdeen Annalist,' who relates at length the legend of the attack on the castle and its demolition, and assigns the occurrence to the time of King Robert Bruce. But it may well be thought incredible that he should have embodied in the 'Annals' the erroneous copy given by Sir George Mackenzie, when the patent itself was lying ready to his hand in the archives of the city. He quotes the erroneous copy verbatim, with the exception of substituting St. *Nicholas* for St. Michael.‡

* Appendix E E.

† [A description of the arms is also given by the anonymous author of 'A View of the Diocese of Aberdeen' (circa 1732), printed in the Spalding Club 'Collections'; and another is to be found in Keith's 'Catalogue of Scotch Bishops,' 1760, p. 176. See Appendices F F, G G.]

‡ Appendix H H.



Nove Abezdonie.

ANDW. GIBB & CO. LITHRS
3 QUEEN ST ABDN

ARMS OF THE BURGH, as shown on the Ceiling of the Cathedral of Saint Machar, circa 1520.

The last appearance* of the erroneous copy purporting to be a veritable document, is in the Appendix to the 'Law and Practice of Heraldry,' where Mr. Seton reproduces it as an illustration of the form of a concession of arms by the Lyon King.† Mr. Laing, misled by this, and believing it to be a correct copy of the patent, says, in the preface to the 'Supplemental Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals,' that "the patent is most unaccountably erroneous, . . . representing St. Michael, . . . while in truth it is St. Nicholas, the patron-saint of the city, and," he adds, "such a mistake betrays either lamentable ignorance, or gross negligence."‡ Had he seen the patent itself, which is in the possession of the Corporation of Aberdeen, his censure doubtless would have alighted on Sir George Mackenzie, and those that have followed his version, and not on Sir Charles Erskine.

No example is extant to show whether the mode of representation on the burgh seal of 1430 had been followed in any other case;§ but early

* [Among other writers misled by the erroneous copy may be named Edmonson, 'Complete Body of Heraldry,' 1780; Astle, 'Account of the Seals of the Royal Burghs, &c., of Scotland,' 1792; Wilson, 'Delineation of Aberdeen,' 1822; Robson, 'British Heraldry,' 1830.]

† Law and Practice, &c., p. 511. ‡ Suppl. Cat., p. xix.

§ [This is true so far as concerns the supporters and motto; but a shield with the tressure (like an orle) and three towers is found in the heraldic ornamentation of the ceiling of the Cathedral Church of St. Machar, circa 1520. Cf. The New Spalding Club's 'Heraldic Ceiling of St. Machar's Cathedral.']

in the seventeenth century examples are found with three towers in the shield, and with the supporters as leopards represented full-faced and with the tails passing down between the hind legs. In that attitude they appear on a carving in St. Mary's Chapel, bearing date 1606; and, on two leaden plaques, taken from the roof of the old East St. Nicholas Church when it was demolished in 1835, one of which, dated 1635, is in the possession of Mr. William Smith, Architect, and the other, dated 1639, in the possession of Mr. Alexander Walker, Merchant. They are also so represented on the books—"Imprinted by Edward Raban, dwelling upon the Market Place, at the Townes Armes in 1624";* and on Parson Gordon of Rothiemay's Map of the City, dated 1661, in the Town House. The tressure is counter-flowered on the plaques with fourteen *fleurs-de-lis*, and on the wood-block and the map with twelve.

It would seem that the inaccuracy of the emblazonment of 1674, in relation to the supporters, had been understood, as after that date the last mentioned usage was still followed. It was so in 1679, when Raban's wood-block was used by the Town Council in printing regulations relating to

* Appendix I I.

ARMS OF THE BURGH, as Carved on Oak Panel from Old St. Nicholas Church (East), now in Vestry of East Church.

THE ARMS OF THE BURGH, as shown on the Copper Stamp used to Stamp the Linen Manufactured in Aberdeen till about the year 1748.

the Bell and Petty Customs; and, in 1685, by Raban's successor, John Forbes, who used the same block in printing Bailie Skene's 'Succinct Survey of the Famous City of Aberdeen.' It was also followed, in 1686, in the carving of the city arms on the Cross; in 1707, when, in printing other regulations, a new wood-block was used by the Town Council; and, in 1755, when the present West St. Nicholas Church was finished, and the arms were carved on the canopy over the Magistrates' gallery. The same usage appears on the gold badge attached to the chain of office worn by the Lord Provost, which the Council Records indicate was procured in 1760;* and on an old copper stamp used for stamping the linen made in Aberdeen down to the year 1720, or thereabout; but whether it was cut before or after 1674 is not known. In both these representations the tressure has eight *fleurs-de-lis*.

From these examples it is evident that for more than eighty years after the date of the patent the mode of representation shown in the emblazonment accompanying it had not set aside the older usage.

After that period the mode of representation given in the emblazonment appears to have been

* Appendix J J.

adopted; one of the supporters being represented full-faced, and the other with the face in profile; the tails disposed as in the older manner, with which, in that respect, the emblazonment is in accord; and in that attitude they have usually been represented down to the present time. One exception occurs in the carving on the tower of the Municipal Buildings; but in that case the resemblance to leopards is hardly recognisable.

Since the emblazonment has been accepted as the authority, the representation there given of the towers, which also accords with the older mode, has been followed, no example appearing with towers triple-towered. In the later as in the older usage the tressure has been represented variously counter-flowered; the emblazonment which gives fourteen not being adhered to; but, as the number of *fleurs-de-lis* on tressures has varied in drawings by the best heralds, the diversity in that respect has the merit of not being inaccurate.

These remarks relate to the usage that has been followed by the city authorities in official forms, and not to the numberless representations of the arms that have been put forth by all and sundry who have made use of them for their various purposes. In the latter case every imaginable form has

appeared, each designer following whatever fancy pleased him, even to inverting the position of the towers in the shield, and discarding the tressure. Instances of these misrepresentations are not rare, and may be seen passing along the streets every day.*

On the occasion of the Town Council being asked in the beginning of the year 1883 to present a carving in stone of the arms, to be placed in the new Town Hall of Lerwick, along with the arms of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and other towns, the question of what was really the proper representation was once more raised. The Lyon King of Arms, being consulted by the city authorities, expressed his opinion, that in accordance alike with the patent, and with the oldest known representation, namely, that on the burgh seal, the leopard supporters ought to be in profile and not full-faced;† and a sketch was furnished by the Lyon Office, from which the carving was made for the Town Hall of Lerwick.

There has since been issued by the Lyon Office, and signed by the Lyon King, a drawing of the arms in conformity with the patent of 1674, which is in the possession of the city authorities. A

* See Appendices K K, L L, M M, N N, on Heraldry in Aberdeen.

† Appendix O O.

reproduction of this emblazonment in the proper colours, but reduced in size, forms the frontispiece to this volume. It will be seen that in this drawing the supporters are both represented with the face in profile, and with the tail elevated in the manner of rampant heraldic beasts; the towers are triple-towered; and the tressure is given with eight *fleurs-de-lis*, in accordance with what has long been the established rule.

The various irregularities that have prevailed for two hundred and fifty years being thus disposed of, it is much to be desired "that no Painters, Maisons, Goldsmiths, Wrights, Gravers or any other of that nature, take vpon them to grave, cut, paint, or carve any armes whatsoever, Bot such as are approven be the Lyon King-of-armes." *

* Acts of Parliament, &c. (Charles II.), 1662, Vol. VII., p. 404.

# APPENDICES.

## Appendix A.

### *Sir Charles Erskine's Patent, 1674.*

"To All and Sundrie Whom it effeers I Sir Charles Araskine of Cambo knight Baronet Lyon King of Armes Considering That Be Severall acts of Parliament Especiallie Be the Tuentie one act of the third session of the Second parliament of our dread Soveraigne Lord Charles the Second be the Grace of God King of Scotland England France and Ireland defender of the faith I am Impowered to visit the wholl armes and Bearings Within this kingdome And to distinguish them with congruent differences And to Matriculat the same in my books and Registers and to Give Extracts of all armes Expressing the blazoning therof vnder my hand and seall of office Which Register is be the forecited act ordained to be respected as the true and unrepealable rule of all armes and Bearings in Scotland To Remaine with the Lyons office as a publict register of the kingdome Therfore Conforme to the power given to me be his sacred Majestie And According to the tenor of the said act of parliament I Testifie and make knowen That the armes and Bearings of old apertaining to the Royall Burgh of Aberdein And now confirmed be me to them Is matriculat in my said publict Register vpon the day and dait of thir presents and is thus blazoned Viz The said Royall Burgh of Aberdein Gives for ensignes Armoriall Gules three Towers Triple towred within A Double Tressure counterflowred Argent, Supported by two Leopards proper. The

motto in ane Escroll above BON-ACCORD And vpon the reverse of the seall of the said burgh is Insculped In A feild Azure A Temple Argent, Saint Nicolas standing in the porch mitred and vested proper With his dexter hand Lifted vp to Heaven praying over Three Children in A Boyling Caldron of the first, and holding in the sinister A Crosier Or Which Armes Above blazoned Being granted and Confirmed to the said Royall Burgh Be Severall of his Majesties Most Royall predecessores Kings of Scotland for their Loyall services performed to them I declare to have bein and to be the true armes of the said Burgh IN TESTIMONIE WHEROF I have subscryved this Extract with my hand and have caused append my seall of office therto GIVEN at Edinburgh the Tuentie fyft day of februarij and of our said soveraigne Lords reigne the Tuentie Sexth year. 1674.

(Signed) CH: ARASKINE LYON."

The docquet annexed to the emblazonment is as follows—

"This is the true Bearing of the Royall Burgh of Aberdein as it is now confirmed be the Lyons warrand and extract of the dait of thir presents And collationed be me Master Robert Innes Clerk to Sir Charles Areskine Lyon King of Armes and Keeper of the Register of Armes At Edinburgh the 25 February 1674

(Signed) ROBT. INNES."

## APPENDIX B.

### *Burning of Lyon Records.*

"Upwards of a hundred years ago, it happened the records of the Lyon-office to be burned; upon which an act of parliament was made, ordaining all the nobility and gentry of Scotland to register their armorial bearings in the books of the Lord Lyon, under pain of confiscation of all plate, carriages, &c., upon which arms not regularly

entered should be depicted."—Arnot's History of Edinburgh, 1788, p. 493.

## Appendix C.

### *Act anent arms of burghs.*

"3rd July 1673. Burghs coats of arms. The Convention considdering the contents of a missive direct to them be the lord lyon anent the matriculating of the arms of the royall burrows and of his lordshipps kynd expression to them therein wherof they are verrie sensible, and furder conceaveing that it is most convenient for avoyding of future truble, and that it tends much to the securitie and preservation in all tyme coming of the particular coatts of arms of eatch severall burgh that the arms of the whole burrows of the kingdome be registratt and matriculat in the said lord lyons books, to the effect extract may be given furth therof, therefor the convention ordains the haill burrowes of this kingdome to take furth extracts of their respective coatts of arms out of the said lord lyons books, and that betuixt and the next generall convention as they will be ansuerable to the censure of the said convention."—Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland, 1615-1676. Edin., 1878, p. 635.

## Appendix D.

### *Commission to Convention.*

*20 Aug., 1673.*

"Ye said day Gilbert Mollesone ane of the Baillies of ye said Brughe Commissioner for this Brughe to ye generall conventione of Burrows holdin at Pearth in July last and for the other affairs of the said Brughe mentionat in [former acts?] having returneit made report of the affairs agitat in said generall conventione wherof the Councell aproveit and renderit him heartie thanks for the good services done yrin."—Council Register, Vol. LV., p. 511.

## Appendix E.

### *Leges Quatuor Burgorum.*

"Thir ar the lawys of the Burghis of Scotland mayd and ordanyt be the King David. . . .

*XLVIII. Of mesurys and wechtys wythin burgh.* Ilke burges may hafe in his hous a mesure to met his corne ane elnewand a stane and punde wecht for til wey. And all thir mesuris and wechtis sal be selyt wyith the seele of the burgh. And it is for to wyt that quhasa is fundyn with fals mesure or wecht sal pay a ful amercyment."—Acts of Parliament (David I.), Vol. I., re-issue, p. 342.

## Appendix F.

### *Old Inventory of Town's Writs.*

"The oldest writing extant in the Towns Charter Chest is an Charter of Annual rent of 20 shillings Sterling out of a Tenement in the Chequer raw, granted by Alexander son and heir of Isaac, in favours of John de Edynhime Burgess of Aberdeen dated the 18th of April anno 1150 [*sic*] and sealed with the Granters Seal, and also (ad majorem hujus rei evidentiam) with the common Seal of the Burgh of Aberdeen, which is in green wax, having Saint Nicolas in his Canonical habit, with his dexter [hand] lifted up, and a half moon under it, and holding a Shepherd's crook in his left hand, with a Starr by his left side. On the reverse of the Seal is Saint Nicolas's Church with the three Steeples—the inscription is somewhat defaced, but may be discovered by the curious."—"Inventary of the Writes in the Town of Aberdeens Charter Chest, taken up by order of the Hon^ble^ The Magistrates and Council of Aberdeen, dated the 15th day of Feby. 1772."

## Appendix G.

### *Carta Adami Gleỳ, 1271.*

"Omnibus Christi fidelibus has litteras visuris uel audituris Adam filius quondam Duncani dicti Gleỳ et heres burgensis de Aberden salutem eternam in domino Noueritis me ex consensu et assensu Ede sponse mee et Johannis filii mei et heredis et omnium aliorum genitorum meorum dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse fratribus predicatoribus de Aberden quatuor perticatas terre jacentes juxta fossam Gothered que terra nunc dicitur Madercroft cum tota longitudine sua et latitudine inter domum dictorum fratrum que est ex parte orientali et viam que ducit uersus molendinum ventilarium* de Aberden que est ex parte occidentali pro quadam summa pecunie quam predicti fratres mihi dederunt premanibus in mea maxima paupertate et necessitate et ad debita mea adquietanda in quibus penes dominum Regem astans fui de arreragiis quequidem debita alio modo non poterant adquietari Tenendam et habendam predictis fratribus in perpetuum totam terram predictam libere quiete solute plenarie et honorifice cum omnibus pertinenciis libertatibus et aisiamentis dicte terre pertinentibus uel in posterum pertinere valentibus Reddendo inde annuatim domino Johanni Cumỳn dicto ruffo et heredibus suis uel suis assignatis vnum par calcarium deauratorum et vnam libram cỳmini ad festum sancti Michaelis archangeli pro omnibus secularibus seruiciis exactionibus consuetudinibus et demandis inde contingentibus uel contingere valentibus Et ad maiorem huius rei securitatem dictis fratribus faciendam ego predictus Adam et Johannes filius meus et heres prenominatus fide media prius interposita tactis eciam sacrosanctis euangeliis corporale prestitimus sacramentum et omnia

* [This ancient structure was on the Port hill. The name of Gothered is still preserved in Gutter's Croft.]

bona nostra mobilia et immobilia habita et habenda terras nostras redditus et possessiones tam infra villam de Aberden quam extra ad dictam terram integre predictis fratribus in perpetuum warrantizandam obligauimus in fideiussorem et in solidum subiciendo nos et heredes nostros jurisdictioni episcopi Aberdonensis uel suorum ordinariorum qui pro tempore fuerint, quod possint compellere nos per sentenciam excommunicacionis in personas nostras de die in diem et per interdictum in terras nostras redditus et possessiones ad dictam terram predictis fratribus plenarie warrantizandam Renunciando pro nobis et heredibus nostris omni excepcioni cauillacioni priuilegio crucesignatorum et cuiuslibet juris remedio seu beneficio tam canonici quam ciuilis impetrandis uel impetratis indultis seu indulgendis que nobis uel heredibus nostris poterint competere ad defensionem uel dictis fratribus quod absit obesse uel nocere In quorum omnium testimonium et memoriam nos predicti Adam et Johannes sigilla nostra vna cum sigillo communi de Aberden ad instanciam nostram huic presenti carte nostre fecimus apponi Datum apud Aberden die Sabbati proxima ante festum beati Thome apostoli anno domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo primo mensis Decembris Testibus Matheo Grossetechte Magistro Ricardo Cementario* Rogero Scoyle Waltero de Maleuyle Rogero de Rypun Johanne dicto Mariot Gilberto dicto de Fyntreth Thoma Ernach tunc firmariis de Aberden Henrico Coco Johanne dicto Sleth Johanne dicto Chapelayn Martino filio Ade Rogero fratre suo Johanne dicto Molendinario Thoma tunc clerico communitatis de Aberden et multis aliis."

Charter in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, pressmark 15-1-18, No. 84.

* Cf. first extract in Appendix X.

[APPENDIX H.

*Laurencii de Daleri confirmatio, 1273.*

". . . In cuius rei testimonium sigillum commune domus nostre de Aberden vnacum sigillo communi dicte ville de Aberden huic scripto apposuimus Hijs testibus magistro Ricardo Cementario Waltero de Malemuk [*sic*]* Duncano de Lassel Thoma filio Alicie tunc prepositis Matheo Grechewid [*sic*]* et Willelmo Marescallo Johanne Ho [?] Gilberto de Fentre Thoma clerico et multis alijs."

*Gilberti de Fincht literæ patentes, 1274.*

". . . In cuius rei testimonium et securitatem sigillum meum vnacum sigillo communi de Aberden hijs literis patentibus est appositum Datum apud Aberden die lune proxima ante festum sancti Valentinj martẏris anno gracie millesimo cc° septuagesimo quarto Hijs testibus Matheo de Grecheued [*sic*]* Rogero de Ripun Thoma Erneach Willelmo Spurnecurtoẏs tunc balliuis ville Abirden Ricardo Cementario Waltero dicto de Maleuile Duncano de Lasceles Thoma filio Alicie Thoma clerico et multis alijs."

*Willelmi de Fyncht literæ patentes, 1285.*

". . . In cuius rei testimonium hijs literis patentibus sigillum meum vnacum sigillo communi de Aberden ad instanciam meam feci apponi Datum apud Aberden die Jouis in ebdomada penthecostis anno gracie millesimo ducentesimo octuagesimo quinto Testibus Malcolmo de Pelgoueni tunc aldremanno de Abirden Johanne de Annegos Willelmo Marescallo Thoma fratre Laurencij Hugone Ruffo tunc prepositis eiusdem ville Matheo Grossetechte Thoma filio Alicie Rogero de Ripun Willelmo Spurnecurtaẏs Galfrido de Gaẏtun Thoma Erniach Willelmo Alket Andrea Sleth Jacobo Huploker Thoma clerico et alijs."]

* [So in the Confirmation of 1360, but evidently corruptions of some forms of 'Greathead' and 'Malevile.']

## Appendix I.

### *Act of Parliament, 129⅝.*

"Et quod Regni nostri prelati quantum eis de jure licet ac comites barones et alii nobiles necnon villarum universitates ac comitates dictos tractatus conventiones pactiones ac confederationes ut superius est expressum suo nomine approbaverunt et se per presentes observaturos firmiter promiserunt Sigilla venerabilium patrum Guillermi Sancti Andree Roberti Glasguensis Mathei Dunkeldensis et Henrici Abirdonensis episcoporum et de Abyrbrothok Dunfermelyn Sancte Crucis de Edynburg de Kalkou et Sancti Andree Monasteriorum necnon Johannis Comyn comitis de Buchania Dovenaldi comitis de Marre Malisii comitis de Stratheryn et Johannis comitis Atholie ac Johannis Comyn Jacobi Senescali Scocie Alexandri de Balliolo Gaufridi de Mubray Rycardi Syward Herberti de Makyswell Patricii de Grahame Nicholai de Haya Nicholai de Graham Alexandri Comyn de Bouchania Alexandri de Bonekill baronum Insuper communitatum villarum de Abyrdene Perthe Strivelin Edynburgen Rokysburgh et de Bereuuick in signum sui consensus et approbationis presentibus sunt appensa Datum apud Dunfermelyn VII° Kalendas marcii Anno domini millesimo cc. nonagesimo quinto regni vero nostri quarto."—Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (John Balliol), Vol. I., re-issue, p. 453. 23 February 129⅝.

## Appendix J.

### *Excerpts from the Ragman Rolls, 1296.*

"Anno Domini et Indictione semper eisdem, mensis Julii die decimo quarto, presentibus dominis proximo prenotatis et me Notario, apud Aberdene, venit quidam Walterus de Scherwinglawe nomine, ad fidem et uoluntatem dicti domini Regis Anglie, et factis primo, confederacionum, contractuum,

et pactorum, si que unquam suo nomine cum domino Rege Francorum inite extitissent contra dictum dominum regem Anglie, quantum in ipso fuit et ipsum contingebant organo uocis sue ut supra anullacione et renunciacione, expresse, tactis sacrosanctis et osculatis Dei Euangeliis domino Regi Anglie predicto fidelitatem fecit in subscripta forma, et super fidelitate sua facta, suas patentes litteras suo sigillo pendente consignatas, sub tenore qui sequitur. A touz ceaus qui cestes lettres verront ou orront, Wautier de Scherwinglawe, Chivaler, saluz. Pur ceo [&c.] Donné á Aberdene, le quatorçime jour de Juÿl, [&c.]"—Page 92.

Then follow, on the fifteenth July, Deeds of Homage given by Norman de Lechelÿn, Alisaundre de Lambretone, Johan de Glenneske, Johan de Striuelin de Morref, Patrik de Eggiluÿne, Johan de Garuiaghe, William de Cluny, Thomas le Vsser, William Comÿn Provost of the Church of Seint Andreu, Alisaundre de Stratton, Gilberte de Mar and others; and, on the sixteenth July, those given by Gilbert de la Haÿe, Johan de Cambo, Johan de Kinros, James de Maleuille, Giffreÿ de Venalÿ, and Roberte de Elmeleÿ.—Pages 93-95.

The Burgesses and Community of Aberdeen would seem not to have come forward very readily, for it is not till the seventeenth July that they gave their Deed of Homage, as appears by the following excerpt:—

"Anno Domini, Indictione et loco proximo prenotatis, mensis Julii die decimo septimo, presentibus nobilibus viris dominis, Waltero de Bello Campo et Johanne Tregotz, militibus, dominis Johanne de Drokenesford, et Johanne de Benestede, Willelmo de Meltonia, Roberto de Cotingham, Johanne de Wyntonia, et Galfrido de Stokes, clericis, testibus uocatis et rogatis, cum aliis quam pluribus, et me Notario subscripto, Nobiles viri, domini Duncanus de Ferndraght, Patricius de Berkelÿe, Hugo de la Haÿe, Reginaldus le Cheen, Johannes Herberti de Makeswelle, Johannes dominus de Makeswelle, et Willelmus de Mohaut, milites, dominus Heruius de Crambathe decanus Dunkeldensis, Johannes

filius Randulphi de Petscotyn, Robertus de Walghope, Robertus le Fauconer, Willelmus de Inays, et Burgenses et communitas civitatis Abirdonensis, non vi nec metu coacti ut dicebant, sed spontanei ad fidem et voluntatem domini Regis Angliæ memorati venientes, confederaciones, contractus, convenciones et pacta quocunque nomine censeantur, si que unquam suo nomine cum Rege Francorum contra dictum dominum regem Angliæ inite extitissent, quatenus in eis fuit, et ipsos contingebant, penitus anullarunt et eisdem vi forme et effectui earundem cum omni commodo quod exinde sibi vel suis poterit provenire quomodolibet in futurum sponte pure et absolute expresse renunciarunt organo vive vocis, et tactis sacrosanctis et osculatis Dei Evangeliis in subscripta forma fidelitatem fecerunt domino Regi Angliæ memorato, et super fidelitate sua sic facta suas patentes fecerunt litteras separatas suis sigillis pendentibus consignatas, tenores qui sequuntur continentes." Pages 95-96.

The following is a copy of the Deed of Homage given by the Burgesses and Community:—

"A touz ceaus qui cestes lettres verront ou orront, les Burgoys é la Cōmunaute de la vile de Abredeñ, saluz. Pur ceo qe nous sumes venuz á la foi é á la uolunte du tresnoble Prince nr̃e chier Seigneur Edward par la grace Dieu Roi Dengletre, Seigneur Dirland, é Ducs Daquitaigne, nous promettoīs pur nous, é pur̃ nos heirs, sur peine de cors é dauoir, é sur q^ant qe nous peussoms encoure, qe nous li seruiroms, bien é leaument contre totes gentz qui purront viure é morir, totes les foiz qe nous serroms requis ou garniz de par nr̃e Seigneur le Roi Dengletre auantdit, ou par ses heirs, e qe nous leur damage ne sauroms, qe nous nel destorbeoms á tot nr̃e poer, é le leur faceoms á sauoir. É á cestes choses tenir é garder nous obligeoms nous é nos heirs, é touz nos biens, é outre ceo auoms jurez sur seintes Eu^angeiles. En tesmoignance de queu chose, nous auoms fait faire cestes lettres ouertes sealéés de nr̃e cōmun seal. Donéés [ut supra &c.]"—Page 97.

The following is offered as a Translation of the Deed of Homage :—

To all those who may see or hear these letters, the Burgesses and Community of the city of Aberdeen, greeting. Seeing that we have come in the faith and by the will of the most noble Prince and our dear Lord Edward by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, we promise on our own part, and on that of our heirs, under pain of person and personalty, and of all else whatsoever we may possess, that we will serve him well and loyally against all people who may live or die, whenever we may be called on or summoned by our Lord aforesaid the King of England, or by his heirs, and that we shall know no hurt to them, that we will defend them with all our power, and we will let them know this. And to hold and keep these conditions, we bind ourselves and our heirs, and all our goods, and in addition we have sworn on the Holy Gospels. In witness whereof we have caused these open letters to be sealed with our common seal. Given &c. as above.

## Appendix K.

### *Act of Parliament, 135$\frac{6}{7}$.*

"Omnibus has literas visuris vel audituris Robertus Seneschallus Scociæ locum tenens Serenissimi Principis David Dei gratia Regis Scociæ Illustrissimi Salutem Nouerit vniversitas vestra quod nos de vnanimi et expresso consensu et assensu omnium prelatorum procerum ac tocius communitatis regni Scociæ constituimus et ordinauimus Reuerendos in Christo Patres Dominos Willelmum et Patricium Sancti Andreæ et Breheniae Episcopos ac Dominos Willelmum de Leuingstone et Robertum de Erskyne milites nuncios nostros speciales ambassadores et deputatos ad tractandum et concordandum cum excellentissimo principe Domino Edwardo dei gratia Rege Angliæ illustri seu deputatis suis super Liberacione Domini

Nostri Regis Scociæ supradicti dantes eisdem et eorum tribus potestatem specialem plenam liberam et generalem ad tractandum pro nobis et tota communitate Regni Scociæ ac concordandum ut præmittitur super finali liberacione dicti domini Regis per omnes vias et modos racionabiles et congruos per quas et quos plena ipsius domini nostri Regis liberacio et finalis concordia inter ipsos Reges et eorum Regna fieri poterit et reformari Ratum et gratum habentes et habituri pro nobis et dicta communitate Regnj Scociæ quicquid per predictos Nuncios nostros vel eorum tres factum vel gestum fuerit in præmissis vel in aliquo præmissorum promitentes eciam et fideliter manucapientes pro nobis et dicta tota communitate ad omnia et singula quæ in præmissis et circa præmissa per predictos nuncios nostros vel eorum tres tractata vel concordata fuerint plene observanda et complenda In cuius rei testimonium Sigillum nostrum nomine et sigilla venerabilium in Christo patrum dominorum Willelmi et Johannis Glasguensis et Dunkeldensis ecclesiarum dei gratia episcoporum nomine et vice tocius cleri Et sigilla nobilium virorum Domini Patricii de Dunbar comitis Marchiæ Thomæ señ comitis danegos et Willelmi de Keith Mareschali Scociæ nomine et vice procerum et baronum ac sigilla communia burgorum de Abden Dunde Perth et Edinburgh nomine et vice omnium burgensium et tocius communitatis presentibus sunt appensa Datum in pleno consilio Regis tento apud villam sancti Johannis de Perth decimo septimo die Januarij anno Domini Millesimo trecentesimo quinquagesimo sexto."—Acts of the Parliament of Scotland (David II.), Vol. I., re-issue, Appendix 10, p. 515, 17th January, $135\frac{6}{7}$.

## Appendix L.

### *Act of Parliament, $136\frac{4}{5}$.*

"Apud Perth in domo fratrum predicatorum Die tercio decimo mensis Januarij Anni domini Millesimi trecentesimi Sexagesimi quarti . . . In cuius Rei testimonium Sigilla

prenominatorum prelatorum et sigilla dicti domini senescalli scocie comitis de Stratharne et domini patricii Comitis marchie et moravie et domini Willelmi comitis de douglas qui ad premissa omnia et singula suum consilium adhibuerunt et consensum in presencia domini nostri Regis apud Edenburgh corporali prestito juramento licet personaliter non interfuerit cum ordinarentur primitus apud perthe, vna cum sigillis domini predicti Comitis de Rosse et aliorum procerum predictorum necnon communibus sigillis Burgorum de Edinburgh abridene perth et Dunde presentibus sunt appensa. Actum et datum Anno die et loco prædictis." Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland (David II.), Vol. I., re-issue, p. 496, 13th January, $136\frac{4}{5}$.

## Appendix M.

### *Cartæ quædam, 1350.*

Carta annui reditus de terra in burgo ab Alexandro Ysaac data Johanni de Edynham. (Town's Ch. Ch., $A^1$ 19.)

". . . In cuius rei testimonium presenti Carte Sigillum meum est appensum Et ad maiorem huius rei euidenciam Sigillum commune burgi de Abirden gratia testimonii presentibus apponi procuraui Datum apud Abirden Octodecimo die mensis Aprilis anno domini millesimo trecentesimo quinquagesimo His testibus Roberto de Edynhame tunc Aldirmanno de Abirden Rogero de Nesbit Andrea filio Walteri Gregorio dicto Spalding et Alexandro dicto bryse tunc balliuis euisdem burgi Dauid de foty Simone Silsath Johanne Spring Malcolmo dicto Writh Willelmo filio Dauid Willelmo de Leth et multis aliis."

Carta Mathæi Pynsath quinque mercarum Carmelitis de terris de Futty. (Mar. Coll. Ch. Ch., VIII., 14.)

". . . In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte mee sigillum meum est appensum Et ad maiorem huius rei euidenciam sigillum commune burgi de Aberden vnacum sigillo Ade de Gardropa tunc domini de Rubislaw presentibus apponi procuraui Datum apud Aberden vltimo die mensis Marcij anno gracie millesimo trecentesimo quinquagesimo."

## Appendix N.

### *Saint Nicholas.*

"Sanct Nicholas of the cite
Wes cytysane of Patere,
And cumyne wes of nobill kyne,
That ay besy ware hewine to wyne.
Ephyphanius his fadir was,
His modir Plamya but les;
The quhilkis ine floure of youthede
Sanct Nicholas gat, as we rede,
And fra thine in chastyte
Led thai ay thar lif, bath scho and he.
The fyrst day that Nicholas
Of his modir borne was
And ine water to wesch lad syne,
He stud alane in the bassyne
One his fet but helpe of mane—
To wyrk miracle sa he begane.
And for to schaw that he suld be
Of abstinence, fra thane he
To suk bot anys one the day
His modir pape wont wes ay
Na one fryday bot anys wald he
The nowrys suk, for ocht mycht be.
Ine his credil, ore he cuth crepe,
Thus he be-gane to god seke,
And held furth ay in that trace
Sa wes he ful of godis grace
. . . .
Sone eftyre hapnyt for to de
The worthy byschope of Mirre
. . . .
Thane al consentit thare-til
And mad hyme bischape of a wil
. . . .

Syne hapnyt it eftirward
Quhene god hyme yeld wald mare reward
That he in ſiknes sa cane fal
That his strinthis falyet al.
. . . .
The angelis thane his sawle in hast,
That thare aperyt, in handis has tane
And had til hewyne, or thai fane;
Eftyre godis byrth, as trew we,
Thre hundir yere fourty and thre.
. . . .
Thane eftir this thare come in hy
Knychtis of Barre wele fourty
And fand yet ine the gret cite
Foure ald monkis, that let thame se
The towme quhare-in sancte Nicholas
Wes lad the tyme he ded was;
The Knychtis opnyt the towme and fand
The banys vare in oyle fletand;
Thane gert thai thame with thame be
Borne to the towne of Barre:
In gret worschipe quhare they are
And hele and helpe gyfis til al sare.
And mad wes the translacione
Of Cristis incarnacione
A thousand auchty yere and sewine—
Fore-thi be Joy to god of hewyne."

—Barbour's [?] *Legendensammlung*. Heilbronn, 1881, p. 229.

It is remarkable that neither in Barbour's Collection, nor in his principal authority, the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, is to be found the story that accounts for the appearance of the three children in the tub. It is given below from a different source—

The fame of St. Nicholas's virtues was so great, that an Asiatic gentleman, sending his two sons to Athens for education, ordered them to call on the Bishop for his benediction: but they, getting to Mira late in the day, thought

proper to defer their visit till the morrow, and took up their lodgings at an inn, where the landlord, to secure their baggage and effects to himself, murdered them in their sleep, and then cut them into pieces, salting them and putting them into a pickling tub with some pork which was there already, meaning to sell the whole as such. The Bishop, however, having had a vision of this impious transaction, immediately resorted to the inn, and, calling the host to him, reproached him for his horrid villainy. The man, perceiving that he was discovered, confessed his crime, and entreated the Bishop to intercede, on his behalf, with the Almighty for his pardon; who, being moved with compassion at his contrite behaviour, confession, and thorough repentance, besought Almighty God, not only to pardon the murderer, but also, for the glory of his name, to restore life to the poor innocents who had been so inhumanly put to death. The Saint hardly finished his prayer when the mangled and detached pieces of the youths were, by divine power, reunited, and, perceiving themselves alive, threw themselves at the feet of the holy man to kiss and embrace them. But the Bishop, not suffering their humiliation, raised them up, exhorting them to return their thanks to God alone for this mark of his mercy, and gave them good advice for the future conduct of their lives: and then, giving them his blessing, he sent them, with great joy, to prosecute their studies at Athens. —Translated from *Historia della Vita dell'illustrissimo S. Nicolo il Magno, Arcivescovo di Mira.* Napoli, 1645.

"He is said to have wrung from Eustathius, governor of Myra, the pardon of three men condemned to death and imprisoned in a tower. He was afterwards represented with this tower at his side, and three little men rising out of it. By degrees the tower was cut down, and the men converted into naked children; and then a new legend was composed to account for the transformed symbol. It was said that an innkeeper, &c."—Baring Gould's Lives of the Saints, 1877, Vol. XI., p. 67.

"Devotional figures of St. Nicholas exhibit him as standing in the habit of a bishop. In the Greek pictures he is dressed as a Greek bishop, without the mitre, bearing the cross instead of the crosier, and on his cope embroidered the three Persons of the Trinity: but in Western Art his episcopal habit is that of the Western Church; he wears the mitre, the cope, in general gorgeously ornamented, the jewelled gloves, and the crosier . . . . Another, and also a very frequent attribute, alludes to the miracle of the three children. They are represented in a tub or vase, looking up to him with joined hands. I presume this story of the children to have been, in its primitive form, one of these religious allegories which express the conversion of sinners or unbelievers. I am the more inclined to this opinion, because I have seen pictures in which the wicked host is a manifest demon with hoofs and claws; and the tub, which contains the three children, has the form of a baptismal font."—Sacred and Legendary Art. By Mrs. Jameson, 1879, Vol. II., p. 457.

## Appendix O.

### *Mr. Cosmo Innes on the Burgh Seals, 1842.*

"The upper seal is from impressions of a brass seal and counter-seal, now in the possession of Mr. Duthie, W.S., Edinburgh, used as the common seal of the Burgh in the fifteenth century. From its workmanship, and the shape of the letters of its legends, it is probably not earlier than the beginning of that century. One circumstance might lead as to assign it a later date. As in the more ancient seal, we have the Patron Saint, but not as in the former, in the act of benediction. Here, St. Nicholas is performing his famous miracle of restoring to life three young scholars, who had been killed, cut into pieces, and thrown into a pickling tub, by a cannibal innkeeper of Myra, who designed to sell their flesh as pork. Now, St. Nicholas

was in an especial manner the patron of sailors, and it was in that capacity probably he was adopted as the protector of the trading town of Aberdeen. But he was considered also to extend his patronage to thieves, virgins, and scholars; and, as the act which is here figured is that by which he came to be regarded as the tutelar saint of scholars and clerks, it might be suspected (in the absence of contrary evidence), that this seal is of a date subsequent to the foundation of the University. Its appearance and style, however, are much against this supposition; and after all, the saint might find objects of his care, in all his capacities, within the City, even before it became professedly a seat of learning.

Kennedy, the City Annalist, copying the zealous Aberdonians, Bailie Skene, Bishop Keith and Hector Boece, whose imagination required no excitement from his affection for his native city, has connected the triple castles of the city arms with the fabulous storming of the castle with its English garrison by the brave inhabitants; in reward of which exploit, King Robert or King David granted permission to the city to change the former armorial bearings, and to assume those still used—'gules, three towers triple-towered, within a double tressure flowered and counter-flowered, argent.'

The story, if ever it obtained credit, has been satisfactorily exploded as fabulous in a recent work, which its author has modestly called 'A Guide to the City of Aberdeen.'* But, in truth, however much heraldry and its facts may assist history, it must be admitted that it is a fertile source of fables for writers who feel themselves bound to find a legend for every Ordinary or Difference of coat-armour. The intelligent antiquary will not fail to recognise in the triple-coned shrine of St. Nicholas, of the more ancient

* "It is to the same author that the Editor is indebted for the theory of the origin of the City arms here given. Mr. Robertson first drew attention to the subject in an Essay read to the Society of Antiquaries in 1839, which he has permitted the Editor to use. The clearing up of this point of its antiquities is one among many benefits conferred by this accomplished writer on the City of *Bon-Accord*."

seal, the type of the triple-towered castle that figures on a shield and within the Royal tressure of Scotland, on the later one. By an easy gradation from thence, we have the three separate towers now the armorial bearing of the City.

The seal is very curious, for its workmanship, its supporters,—two leopards or lions, for these heraldic animals are not to be distinguished,—and its preserving probably the earliest occurrence of the *cri de guerre* of the 'Brave Toun'

**bon accord."**

—Preface to *Abredoniae Vtrivsqve Descriptio* (Spalding Club), p. ix.

## Appendix P.

"*The Armorial Bearings of Aberdeen.*

Sir,

In the preface to the Spalding Club edition of Gordon's 'Description of Aberdeen,' edited by Cosmo Innes, the seal of the 15th century is stated to be in possession of Mr. Duthie, W.S., Edinburgh. How he got it is not stated. This was in 1842. Had it been restored in 1850?

Cosmo Innes makes a curious mistake when he says in p. x. of his preface that the figure of S. Nicholas is *not* represented in the act of benediction. It is quite evident the Saint is represented in *both* the seals referred to, as doing the same thing, viz., giving his episcopal blessing, and that the tub with the three children is introduced *behind* the Saint, *as his emblem*, to show *who* is intended. Moreover, Cosmo Innes does not seem to see that S. Nicholas was Patron Saint of the once magnificent Parish Church of Aberdeen long before there was a University, and that it was through his connection with their Parish Church that he was also figured on the city arms.

Again, Cosmo Innes makes a mistake in speaking of the triple-coned *shrine* of S. Nicholas, which is simply an early

form of a city wall, and the church spires inside, or a triple-towered castle, if that description is preferred. It is a conventional form used at the earlier period, 1357, for a town, a castle, or a church—here it may possibly mean the *Church* of S. Nicholas, which the crosses on the spire rather seem to favour. In these old days the citizens of Aberdeen were proud of their great church, as well they might be.

Yours, &c.,

F.S.A., Scotland.

5th November, 1883.

P.S.—May I venture to suggest that the original city arms were, as on the old seals, *one* tower, triple-towered, and that the double tressure was the only Royal augmentation. By *whom* and *when* were the three towers given?"—*Aberdeen Journal*, November 11, 1883.

"*The Armorial Ensigns of Aberdeen.*

SIR,

. . . . In a postscript to his interesting letter, 'F.S.A., Scotland' asks 'by whom and when were the three towers given?' In the absence of evidence on this point, it may be observed that instances were not uncommon of a single charge, originally borne, being afterwards multiplied to three, as Nisbet says, 'for beauty's sake';* and it may also be noted that the patent of 1674 narrates that the three towers, triple-towered, were the arms and bearings of old appertaining to the burgh.

Yours, &c.,

J[ohn] C[ruickshank] & P. D."

—*Aberdeen Journal*, November 11, 1883.

* System of Heraldry, 1722, p. 232.

## Appendix Q.

*Mr. Cosmo Innes on the Burgh Seals, 1863.*

"The earliest common seal known of the burgh of Aberdeen is that appended to the deed for the ransom of King David in 1357. It bears on one side the figure of St. Nicholas, the patron saint, and on the other a representation of a common shape of fertir or shrine of the saint, with three domes or pinnacles so commonly found as the ornaments of such repositories in the Middle Ages. The inscriptions round that seal and counter-seal are—

Singnum Beati Nicolai Aberdonensis.
Sigillum de communi Aberdonensi.

The next seal used by the burgh of Aberdeen is slightly different, but still preserves symbols of its dependence upon its patron, St. Nicholas. The name of the Saint is no longer given on the inscription, but he is represented in person, readily recognised in performing one of his most celebrated miracles—restoring to life the three clerks who had been killed and pickled by a cannibal innkeeper of Myra, who proposed to sell their flesh as pork. On the reverse the fertir or shrine, with its triple dome, has undergone a moderate change into a castle, with triple towers, sufficiently war-like to give a foundation to the fable of Boece, who pretends that these were arms granted to Aberdeen to commemorate the bravery of the burghers in storming the castle with its English garrison. The herald sees with more interest in this seal an early instance of the use of our royal double tressure fleurie-counterfleurie, and of supporters to the shield, two lions or leopards. It gives, too, the earliest occurrence of the pretty motto of the city, 'Bon-Accord.' On both seal and counter-seal is the inscription—

Sigillum commune de Aberden.

When I had occasion twenty years ago to make some remarks on this seal, I described it as a brass matrix-seal and counter-seal in the possession of Mr. Walter Duthie, and I tried to fix the date, assigning it, from reasonable conjectures, to the early part of the fifteenth century.

Several years later there was found in Aberdeen another matrix of the same seal, and its possessor—Mr. William Smith, 106 Union Street, Aberdeen—with the greatest politeness, communicated it to me: as I am now about to restore it, I have thought it proper, with the approbation of your Council, to secure for our Museum a facsimile of it, done by the galvanic process, by our ingenious artist, Mr. Henry Laing.

You observe that while this seal is in all other respects identical with the stamps of Mr. Duthie, it has one interesting addition in an inscription on the back of each part, fixing the date and the name of the Provost or Alderman who ordered it to be made, in this manner—

*The yer of gras m.cccc.xxx. jon the vaus*
*was alderman, and this sel mad.*"

—Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. v., p. 139. Meeting of 8th June, 1863.

[Appendix R.

"*Recovery of a Valuable Antiquarian Relic.*

We have much pleasure in recording the recovery, a few days ago, of one of the ancient Seals of this city, under circumstances the most unlooked-for and singular. It appears that this curious relic of olden times had been purchased some sixty years ago, at a sale of household effects, by a gentleman in whose possession, until recently, it remained, but who had never the good fortune to discover what it really was, the devices and legends being to him quite unintelligible. At the sale of this gentleman's effects, it was purchased by a broker, by whom it was sold to its

present possessor, who at once saw that it was a veritable ancient seal of the 'braif toun.' It is here proper to remark that, in the excellent preface to the Spalding Club edition of 'Gordon's Description of Both Touns of Aberdeen,' written by Mr. Sheriff Innes, it is mentioned that the engraving, accompanying that volume, of the ancient seals of the burgh, is from impressions of a brass seal and counter-seal in the possession of Mr. Walter Duthie, W.S. The date of that seal is not exhibited; but Mr. Innes reasonably infers from its workmanship, and the shape of the letters of its legends, that it is probably not earlier than the beginning of the 15th century. The seal just recovered, which is similar to, although not quite identical with Mr. Duthie's, tells its own date; for on the back of one part of the seal, around the circumference, is the following inscription in black letter, as it is popularly called :—

**Jon de Vaus was Alderman ye yer of grace mcccxxx. and yis sel mad.**

That is—'John de Vaus was Alderman, the year of grace, 1430, and this seal made.' On the other part of the seal is the same inscription, with this difference, that the words 'de' and 'was,' originally omitted, are interlined. Everything about the seal bespeaks it a genuine antique. Both parts correspond in size, devices and legends with the engravings of Mr. Duthie's, with this difference, that in the towered castle displayed in the former the joints of the building are shewn, which is not the case in the latter. A minute comparison of both seals would probably lead to the discovery of which was the original; but about the date of the seal under notice, there can be no doubt. The seal and counter-seal are both made apparently of copper, or perhaps rather of bell metal; are in excellent preservation; and bear indubitable marks of having been in frequent use. On the seal are the triple-towered castle, the supporting leopards, or rather lions, and the motto 'Bon-Accord.' On the counter-seal is St. Nicholas, patron saint to the burgh, praying over the three young scholars, whom fabling monks

represent him to have restored to life, after they had been cut up and salted by a villianous innkeeper of Myrer, with the intention of palming the abomination on his customers for pickled pork. We understand that the gentleman, into whose possession this curious piece of antiquity has accidently fallen, intends to present it to the Corporation; and we doubt not, but this graceful and appropriate disposal of it will be duly appreciated."—*Aberdeen Journal*, May 6, 1846.

"*The Aberdeen Seals.*

To the Editor of the *Aberdeen Journal.*

SIR,

Nearly sixty years since I became possessed of these seals. I then rescued them from the crucible. There was an old man of the name of Aberdour, a brassfounder, famous for making brass weights. He had his workshop in the Guestrow. At that time I often used his furnace for experiments, and among his old brass, which he was to consign to the crucible, I saw these seals, and gave him five shillings for them, and put them aside among my other curiosities. Some years afterwards I showed them to the present Provost's father, an intimate acquaintance, who admired them much, and begged me to allow him to take an impression from them in tin. On giving them to him, I expressed a wish that so great a piece of antiquity should be shown to the Magistrates: he did so; but at that time it appeared they had not the taste they have at present, for they carelessly returned them. After taking the casts, Mr. Blaikie gave them back to me with a cast of tin, which cast I also sold. I informed the Auctioneer of their antiquity, and told him not to throw them away, but he sold the seals to Mr. Smith for two shillings. This exhibits the apathy of our citizens towards works of art and antiquity. At my sale there were a number of greater curiosities than the seals. There were five original paintings of Grecian heads, said to be the work of Raphael,—I will not state at

present how I came to be in possession of them. Mr. Anderson, late picture dealer in Edinburgh, purchased four of them for four guineas; and, after he had bought them, said he would not take twenty-five guineas for each of them, and that he expected fifty. They are in the same style as the cartoons, and may be seen at Mr. Elmsly's Mart, Upperkirkgate. I tried to copy them myself, but failed in coming up to the spirit of the originals. They are painted on a red ground the same as the cartoons. Now, Sir, if there be any merit in the preservation of these seals, it is due to me, who saved them from the crucible.

Yours truly,

A. F."

—*Aberdeen Journal*, May 13, 1846.*

The "A. F.," who failed to come up to the spirit of Raphael, is believed to have been Andrew Ferguson, Esq., M.D., Aberdeen.

It would seem that the "graceful and appropriate disposal" of the seal suggested by the *Journal* had not commended itself to Mr. Smith, for five years ago it fell to the lot of the present editor to rediscover the matrices in

* In *Notes and Queries* for 9th November, 1867, occurs the following reference to the same subject:—"Several of the older municipal seals of England bear a *date* in their legends, but such is not the case with any seals of a similar class and period in Scotland, so far as I am aware, and my collection of these is a large one. The fine old double seal of Aberdeen, however, which is not now in use, though the matrices are still preserved in private hands, has the following inscription on the back of each matrix:—'Ye Zer of Grac M.CCCC.XXX. Jon Ye Vaus was Allderman,' 'and yes Sel mad,' the former words being engraved in a circle, and the latter ones occupying the half of an inner circle. This interesting matrix was picked up by its present owner from a lot of old iron exposed for sale! It is strange how so many old matrices have gone astray, and have cast up from time to time in odd ways. . . . The *first* suggestion which I wish to make is that our town and city clerks should carefully examine their charter chests and long unopened drawers, filled with official papers, as in all likelihood, in many instances, such as occurred at Lanark, the matrices of interesting old seals will be found amongst their contents. The *second* is, that any one who knows of the existence of matrices of old municipal seals in private hands, as was the case in those of Great Grimsby, should communicate the same through your columns. The *third* and last is, that all gatherings of old metals at the doors or windows of brokers' shops should be carefully examined by your readers, in case valuable, but uncared for, matrices should be among them, as in the instances I have mentioned. . . . . E. C."

the hands of his representatives. The subjoined extract is from the *Daily Free Press* of 8th January, 1884:—

"*Meeting of Town Council. The Ancient Seal of the City.*

The Town Clerk read the following interesting Communication:—

152 UNION STREET,
ABERDEEN, *5th December, 1883.*

DEAR SIR,

By the direction of Mrs. Laurie, Dee Street, and Miss Rachel Smith, Springbank, I send you herewith, for behoof of the Corporation, the ancient city seal, consisting of two matrices, and bearing date 1430. As you will probably be interested to know how the seal has made its appearance at this time, I may as well explain the circumstances.

Mr. John Cruickshank and Mr. Peter Duguid have, as you are aware, been engaged for some time past in making investigations as to the history of the city armorial bearings, in which they have been assisted by Mr. P. J. Anderson of the Church of Scotland Training College. The seal was believed to be lost, but Mr. Anderson observed a statement in the preface to Mr. Henry Laing's 'Supplemental Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals' to the following effect, in reference to the seal, 'The date is 1430, and the original matrix—a fine specimen of the art—is still preserved: it is fully described in the 'Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Scottish Seals' (No. 1146-7), and is there said to be in the possession of the Corporation of Aberdeen, but this is found to be an erroneous statement which we gladly take the present opportunity of correcting. It is in the possession of Mr. William Smith of Springbank, Aberdeen, who accidently met with it among a lot of old metal exposed for sale in a broker's shop.' This information having been communicated to Mr. Cruickshank, a search was instituted at Springbank, with the gratifying result of finding the

seal in, as you will see, very excellent preservation. Mrs. Laurie and Miss Smith have very much pleasure in restoring it to the city of Aberdeen.

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE ANDERSON.

The matrices of the seal were elegantly mounted on velvet in a leather bound case, which was handed round for the inspection of the members of the Council.

The Lord Provost moved that the thanks of the Council be sent to Mr. Anderson, and to Mrs. Laurie and Miss Rachel Smith for returning to the Council this interesting relic—(applause). This was agreed to."]

## APPENDIX S.

### *Mr. Joseph Robertson on the Castle Story, 1839.*

"The next incident in the annals of the burgh is one on which the citizens have long prided themselves. . . . . They mainly assisted to the defeat of Comyn at Barra on the 22nd of May, 1308, and 'no less inflamed with resentment against the English, than elated by the recent victory, hastened to the town.' They stormed the Castle, put the garrison to the sword, and, that there might not remain a vestige of Southern oppression, razed the fortress to the ground. In this assault their watchword was 'BON-ACCORD.' The English in the neighbourhood marched against the burgh. On their approach they were met and defeated by the citizens and partizans of Bruce, headed by John Fraser. Few escaped, and the captives were hanged on a gibbet without the town. The Canons in vain interceded for mercy; but they obtained liberty to have the slain interred at the postern of St. Nicholas Church, where their bones, with inscriptions in memory of their death, were to be seen after the lapse of two centuries. The Canons, as a penance

on the citizens, enjoined them to repair every Sunday to the Chapel within the Castle, there to pray for the souls of their victims. During the prevalence of the Roman Catholic faith this rite was strictly observed, and, says Mr. Kennedy, 'such is the effect of custom, that, at the present day, the people, immediately on leaving the church after forenoon service on Sunday, proceed directly to the terrace of the Castlehill, without having any particular object in view.' While the priests inflicted a penance, the Sovereign bestowed a reward, 'In honour of that resolute Act,' says Bailie Skene, 'they got their *Ensignes-Armoriall*, which to this day they bear: . . .' [See Appendix D D.]

"Such is the story which has been narrated by the annalists of Aberdeen. It is remarkable, that though no two of them have told it alike—though some place it in the reign of Robert I., and others in that of David II.—they are all equally zealous in believing it. Yet there can be no doubt that, from beginning to end, it is a clumsy and ill devised falsehood. In the first place, it is not recorded, nor, in the remotest degree, alluded to by any one contemporary or nearly contemporary writer. Then by whom is it first narrated? By an author who wrote more than two hundred years after, and who has been called 'the father of lies.' In short, it is by Hector Boece, and, be it particularly noted, *by him alone*, that this story is chronicled. Unfortunately, this author has been declared 'infamous' by the High Court of History, and his evidence must be refused, even if tendered in corroboration. Are we to take it then, when it is offered as the *sole* proof, when it neither supports nor is supported by any other, but on the contrary stands opposed to the declarations of unimpeachable witnesses? Yet such is the case. Not a syllable of the matter is mentioned by Barbour, who wrote a most minute history of the affairs of the period, lived within fifty years of the date assigned to the event, and resided in Aberdeen. It is altogether impossible, therefore, that he could have been ignorant of a transaction of such

moment; yet, not only is he silent with regard to it, but (which is a natural consideration) relates many details absolutely inconsistent with it. Nor is this all,—it appears, from an authentic document, within *two months* from this razing of the castle, that fortress was in existence, unmutilated, and in all its strength! By a letter, dated Windsor, 10th July, 1308, Edward constituted William le Betour, captain of his fleet from Hertlepool to Aberdeen, and directed him to proceed 'in subsidium obsidionis castri nostri de Aberdeen.'* Can it be credited that a citadel which was 'razed to the ground' in May could be besieged in July? It was needless, though sufficiently easy, to point out other objections, but I may notice what appears an instructive illustration of the progress of the fable. In 1580, certain proceedings took place before the King and Council, in the course of which the Charter of King Robert Bruce to the Burgh was recited, to the effect that the monarch has been influenced in his liberality to the burgesses by 'considering thair bauld manheid in the recovering and destroying of the strong castell, biggit and mantenit thair by the English sumtyme for danting and suppressing of the burgh and cuntrie.'† On turning to this Charter, however, not a syllable of all this is to be found,—not a hint of this 'bauld manheid.' Nay, even the 'bonum servicium'—good service—specified in charters of former Kings, is omitted. On the whole, therefore, I am

* "Rotuli Scotiae, Vol. I., p. 55.

Mr. Kennedy, it would appear, from his reference on the margin, had consulted this document, and it is difficult to conceive how he could have overlooked the obvious result to which it leads. But this part of his work exhibits an almost unparalleled specimen of carelessness and blundering.

At Vol. I., p. 24, he writes:—

'The citizens of Aberdeen . . . . attacked with intrepidity the citadel, which was still occupied by the enemy, and having stormed it, put the garrison to the sword, *and razed the fortifications.*' Exactly two pages after, we are informed that 'the citadel of Aberdeen being the only stronghold which Edward had hitherto lost, he appointed William le Betour, captain of his fleet betwixt Hartlepool and Aberdeen, *with special orders to proceed with succour for retaking it.*' The Spanish fleet, in the Play, could not be seen, because it was not in sight; but Mr. Kennedy sees no difficulty in retaking a castle which was not built. This happy *bull* has been repeated with a still more Hibernian aspect by Robert Wilson, A.M., Hist. and Del. of Aberdeen, pp. 6, 7."

†['Charters, &c., of Aberdeen,' Pt. II.]

afraid that my fellow-citizens must resign this romantic tale, however dearly it may have been prized, to the fate which has befallen so many of the pleasant stories of its first narrator. There seems every reason to believe that it is equally untrue, yet not so amusing, as his legend of the monstrous goose-footed otter which struck down great oaks with its tail, while the fishermen, we are assured, found safety from its fury by climbing into trees.

It may be conjectured that the fiction took its origin from the grants which King Robert made to the town. In 1314, he bestowed on the burgh the office of Keeper of the forest of the Stocket; and, in 1319, gave and granted to the burgesses and community, the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen, and the forest of the Stocket, to be held in free burgage for an annual payment of £213 6s. 8d. Scots."* —Book of Bon-Accord, pp. 31-36.†

## Appendix T.

### *Hector Boece.*

"Eo prope tempore Brusiani Aberdonensem arcem, quam aliquot annis maximo cum Scotorum incommodo Angli tenuerant, Aberdonensibus plurimum suppetiarum afferentibus, expugnatam vi capiunt, cæsis qui ejus custodiæ fuerant destinati; ac paulo post ne Anglis ullum Aberdoniæ superesset refugium, omni supellectili exhaustam solo æquarunt. Angli amissæ arcis cæsorumque contribulium tristi nuncio affecti, coactis copiis Aberdoniam movent animo acceptam injuriam ulciscendi." —Boetii *Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitæ.* Paris, 1522. Reprint of 1825, p. 11.

* 'Charters, &c., of Aberdeen,' pp. 10, 12.

† Cf. Appendix No. I., 'Bon-Accord,' to Municipal Statutes, &c., in Aberdeen, p. 29 [Robertson].

[APPENDIX U.

*Professor William Smith.*

"Et Eduardus III. (*ut refert Boetius*) Abredoniam urbem regiam, per sex continuò dies flammis vastavit, et solo æquavit, quia BONA civium CONCORDIA, et unanimi impetu, complures Angli qui Arcem illic munitam tenebant, et ingenti tyrannide oppidum tum temporis opprimebant, à fautoribus Davidis Brussii cum ignominia ejecti fuerant: Quod factum non minus inclytum quam opportunum, Abredoniæ titulum BON-ACCORD, mutataque Armorum insignia, meruit, de quibus Poeta:—

Arx triplex, &c."

*Commemoratio Benefactorum Academiæ Marischallanæ Abredonensis. Auctore Gulielmo Smith.* Aberdeen, 1702, p. 12.]

APPENDIX V.

*Erroneous copy of the patent of the arms as given by Sir George Mackenzie:—*

"To all and sundry whom it effeirs.—I, Sir Charles Areskine of Cambo, Knight and Baronet, Lyon, King of Arms; Considering That by several Acts of Parliament, as well as of Our dread Soveraign Lord, Charles the Second, by the Grace of God, Defender of the Faith, as of his Majesties Royal Predecessors, especially by the twenty-one Act of the Third Session of this Current Parliament, I am impowered to visit the whole Arms and Bearings within this Kingdom, and to distinguish them, and matriculate the same in my Books and Registers, and to give Extracts of all Arms, expressing the Blazoning thereof, under my hand and seal of Office: And which Register is, by the fore-cited Act, ordained to be respected as the true and unrepealable Rule of all Arms and Bearings in Scotland, to remain with the Lyons Office as a publick

Register of the Kingdom. Therefore, conform to the power given me by His Sacred Majesty, and according to the tenor of the said Acts of Parliament; I testifie and make known, that the Arms of old belonging to the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen, and now confirmed by me, are matriculated in my said publick Register, upon the day and date of thir presents: And are thus blazoned, viz:— The said royal burgh of Aberdene gives for Ensigns Armorial, Gules, three Towers, triple towered within a double Tressure Counter-flowered Argent: Supported by two Leopards, propper: The Motto is an Escrol above, 'Bon-Accord,' (the word Bon-Accord was given them by King Robert Bruce, for killing all the English, in one night, in their Town, their word being that night Bon-Accord). And upon the Reverse of the Seal of the said Burgh is insculped, in a Field Azure, a Temple Argent, Saint Michael standing in the Porch, mitered and vested propper, with his Dexter hand lifted up to Heaven, praying over three Children in a boyling Caldron of the first, and holding in the Sinister a Crosier, Or. Which Arms, above blazoned, I hereby declare to have been, and to be, the true and unrepealable Signs Armorial of the Burgh Royal above named. In testimony whereof I have subscribed this Extract with my hand; and have caused append my Seal of Office thereto. Given at Edinburgh, the twenty fifth day of February, and of Our said Soveraign Lords Reign the twenty-sixth Year, 1674.

CHARLES ARESKINE, *Lyon.*"

—The Science of Herauldry, 1680, p. 9.

## APPENDIX W.

### *Bishop Leslie.*

"Robertus Brusæus, armis omnia ardere videns, in illis extinguendis omnem commentationem figit. Primum

lectica (quod gravissimo morbo conflictareur) ad castra delatus, Joannem Cumenum Comitatum Buquhaniæ, ad Innerourie fudit, Abredonensem arcem Capit et solo æquat."—Leslie's *De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum.* Rome, 1578, p. 243.

## Appendix X.

### *The Castle and its Demolition.*

"*Extracta e Rotulis Computorum Vicecomitum tempore Regis Alexandri Tertii.*

Ex computo Andree de Garuiach vicecomitis de Aberden, anno MCCLXIIII. . . . .

Item, capellano ministranti in capella castri de Aberden de illo anno, V marcas. . . . .

Item, Magistro Ri. Cementario* ad operacionem castri, XX marcas, de quibus respondebit.

Item, in cariagio decem doliorum vini de naui usque castrum cum windagio X s."—The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, I., II.

"*Rex Edwardus mandat quod castra Scotiæ Johanni de Balliolo tradantur.*

Rex et superior dominus regni Scotie dilecto et fideli suo Johanni de Gildeford custodi castrorum de Aberdeen et Kyncardyn salutem Cum Johannes de Balliolo nuper in parliamento nostro apud Berewik super Twedam venisset coram nobis et petivisset predictum regnum Scotie sibi per nos adjudicari et seisinam ipsius regni sibi ut proximiori heredi Margarete filie regis Norwagie domine Scotie et nepotis quondam Alexandri ultimi regis Scotie jure successionis liberari Ac nos auditis et intellectis petitionibus et rationibus tam predicti Johannis de Balliolo quam

* See page 54.

aliorum petentium predictum regnum et eisdem petitionibus et rationibus diligenter examinatis invenerimus prefatum Johannem de Balliolo esse propinquiorem heredem predicte Margarete quoad predictum regnum Scotie optinendum propter quod idem regnum Scotie et seisinam ejusdem eidem Johanni de Balliolo salvo jure nostro et heredum nostrorum reddidimus Vobis mandamus quod seisinam predictorum castrorum de Aberden et Kyncardyn cum omnibus pertinentiis suis una cum omnibus aliis rebus vobis per cyrografum traditis et secundum quod in predictorum castrorum vobis commissa custodia res hujusmodi recepistis sine dilatione predicto Johanni de Balliolo vel attornatis suis has literas deferentibus deliberari faciatis In cujus &c.

T. R. apud Berewik super Twedam xviij° die Nov. 1292."—*Rotuli Scotiae* (21 Edw. I.), I., 12.*

"*Diary of Edward the first* [*his*] *journey into Scotland in the time of John Kinge of Scottis A° Regni 24.*

Le Samady [14 Jul. 1296] a la citee d'Aberden, bon chastel et bone ville sur la meer; et y demora v iours."—Bannatyne Miscellany, I., 278.

"*A son seygnor le roy D'engleterre.*

Nous† avoms envee pur prendre mon sire Henri de Lazom qui est en votre Chastel de Aperden e se fet iloques un grant seignor mes si il est uncore pris ou non nous ne vous savons mie uncore bien maunder que en portir de ceste lettre nairons uncore nul respuns de tous qui le alerent prendre mes se il est pris il sera honeure solom ce que il affert.

Escrites a Berwyk le primer jour de Augst [1297]."—*Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 502.

* Similar mandates were issued with respect to the Castles of Stirling, Inverness, Dingwall, Invernarn (Nairn), Cromarty, Forres, Elgin, Banff, Aboyne, Forfar, Dundee, Gedeworth (Jedburgh), Roxburgh, Cluny, Ayr, Dumbarton, Dumfries, Wigton, Kirkcudbright, Edinburgh, and Berwick.

† John, Earl of Warren and Surrey.

"*Notandum de libertate Regalitatis Monasterii de Aberbrothoc.*

Anno gracie mº ccº nonagesimo nono In festo Carnipriuij coram Domino Johanne Cvmỳn Comite de Buchan tunc Justiciario scocie Ipso tenente placita sui officij iuxta castrum de Aberden in loco qui dicitur Castelsyd et calumpniante ibidem Adam dictum de festo et quatuor homines tunc manentes in terra Abbatis de Abirbrothok de Tulielt apud Tarvaỳs viz de indictamento furti vaccarum et bidentum Johannes de Pollok tunc senescallus Abbatis et conuentus de Abirbrothok vouebat ipsos tamquam homines dicti Abbatis et huit eos ad curiam regalitatis de Tarvaỳs quia manebat in dicta terra de Tulielt tamquam in forcerio illius regalitatis de Tarvaỳs Hiis presentibus dicto die viz Henrico le chen Episcopo Aberdonensi Domino J comite Atholie tunc vicecomite de Abirden Dominis W. de melgdrum Waltero de Berkelaỳ Duncano de ferendr̃ Henrico fratre eius Johanne flemỳng Thoma de monimusk Patricio de Sancto Michaele Walrano de Normanuilla Andrea de Raath militibus cristino Judice et multis aliis." —*Registrum Vetus de Aberbrothoc*, p. 164.

"*De constitutione capitanei marinariorum et navium regis de Hertelpole et aliorum portuum.*

Rex dilecto sibi Willelmo le Betour salutem Quia pro expeditione guerre nostre Scotie auxilio tam marinariorum quam aliorum plurimum indigemus nos de diligentia et fidelitate vestra specialiter confidentes constituimus vos capitaneum nostrum marinariorum navium de Hertelpol de Novo Castro super Tynam de Berewico super Twedam ac aliorum locorum inter Hertelpol et Aberden in subsidium obsidionis castri nostri de Aberdene amovende et ad alia que ad expeditionem nostram contra Scotos inimicos et rebelles nostros in partibus illis attingunt viriliter faciendam prout dilectus et fidelis noster Gilbertus Petche et . . . camerarius noster Scotie vobis ex parte nostra plenius

injungent Et ideo vobis mandamus quod ad hoc omnibus aliis pretermissis modis omnibus intendatis mandamus autem omnibus et singulis magistris navium et marinariis predictis quod ad proficiscendum vobiscum una cum navibus suis et hominibus armis competentibus bene munitis ad premissa potenter et viriliter facienda prout et quotiens ipsos marinarios premuniendos duxeritis ex parte nostra vobis pareant et intendant In cujus &c.

T. R. apud Wyndesor x die Julii 1308."—*Rotuli Scotiae* (2 Edw. II.), I., 55.

. . . . . .*

"About this time, according to common report, the citizens of Aberdeen, and other partisans of Bruce, stormed the castle of Aberdeen, slew the English garrison, raised the fortifications, and defeated the English, who endeavoured to regain that castle."—Lord Hailes' Annals of Scotland, Edin., 1779, p. 359.

"The army of the king now rapidly increased [after the victory at Barra], as his character for success and military talent became daily more conspicuous. His nephew, Sir David de Brechin, having been pardoned and admitted to favour, joined him about this time with his whole force; and, pursuing his advantage, he laid seige to the castle of Aberdeen. Edward was now at Windsor, and, alarmed at the progress of Bruce, he dispatched an expedition to raise the siege of Aberdeen, and commanded the different sea-ports to fit out a fleet, which should co-operate with his land forces. But these preparations were too late, for the citizens of Aberdeen, who had early distinguished themselves in the war of liberty, and were warmly attached to the cause of Bruce, encouraged by the presence of his army, and assisted by some of his most faithful partisans, assaulted, and carried the castle by storm, expelled the English, and levelled the fortifications with the ground."—Tytler, Hist. of Scotland, Vol. I., p. 269-270, Edin., 1828.

* [Mr. Cruickshank's MS. is here unfinished.]

In relating, immediately after this, the capture of the castle of Forfar, Tytler adds, . . . 'the king, according to his usual policy, instantly commanded the fortifications to be destroyed,' This statement is given on the authority of Barbour, p. 175.

In the 'Notes and Illustrations' to the volume, Letter Z, referring to a statement made by Lord Hailes relating to the siege of the castle of Rutherglen, Mr. Tytler cites the orders issued by Edward, on the 12th of May, 1309, to most parts of England and to Ireland also, to provide corn, malt, peas, beans, and wine, for his various castles in Scotland, and as, in the enumeration of these, Rutherglen is not included, he infers that it had been captured by the Scots. The castles mentioned are, Berwick, Roxburgh, Stirling, Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Banff, Perth, Dundee, Dumfries, Caerlaverock, and Ayr, (Rotuli Scotiae, Vol. I., p. 63). As the castle of Aberdeen is not mentioned it may also be inferred that it was not in the possession of the English.

To judge from the difficulty experienced in obtaining exact information regarding traditional statements of events that have happened more recently, and within a much briefer space of time than two hundred years, it is not to be wondered that the annalists vary in their accounts relating to the attack and capture of the castle. Boece's narrative, however, is entitled to more reasonable consideration than to be set aside as 'a clumsy and ill devised falsehood.' From the fact that Boece says nothing regarding the grant of the arms, it may be assumed that this remark can have reference only to his statement regarding the capture of the castle.

It is certain that a castle had existed; and, whether demolished or not, that it was taken from the English, as the letter of King Edward II., dated at Windsor, 10 July, 1308, conclusively proves, by his giving directions for its being retaken. The ridicule heaped on Kennedy for saying that it was taken on 22nd May, and razed to the

ground, and that King Edward ordered the retaking of it, on 10 July, is unwarranted. Kennedy says, that 'the fortifications' were razed to the ground, and the citadel, which may have been taken possession of by the citizens, and could be of no advantage to the enemy who were expelled, may have remained in the possession of the citizens till they demolished it also.

The query propounded by the Editor of the 'Book of Bon-Accord,' 'how can it be credited that a citadel which was razed to the ground in May could be besieged in July,' does not present an unsurmountable difficulty. King Edward, no doubt, had heard of the capture of the castle, and the expulsion of the English garrison; but as intelligence of any importance must have taken a considerable time in transmission, and the razing of the fortress could not have been carried out in a day, he might not have heard of the demolition of the fortification.

When King Edward III. invaded Scotland, and, according to tradition, gave Aberdeen to the flames, and laid it in ashes* (Rotuli Scotiæ), no mention is made of the castle. The negative evidence thus afforded appears to support the assumption that it had ceased to exist. Whether the demolition was carried out in the time of King Robert, or King David, cannot be determined.

. . . . . [MS. incomplete.]

* "Compota Prepositorum et Custumariorum reddita apud Dunbretan. Compotum Nicholai de Lidell et Willelmi Chepman prepositorum burgi de Abirden [Jan. 14, 1327-8] . . .

Et per allocacionem factam burgensibus de Abirden de Viginti marcis quolibet anno decem annorum proxime futurorum, de quibus unus annus cum dimidio est elapsus, racione combustionum dicti burgi, de duobus terminis huius compoti, xiij li. vj s. viij d."—*Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, I, 60.

Similar entries occur in the accounts rendered in 1328 (p. 90), 1329 (p. 155), 1330 (p. 308 "ex concessione regis Roberti.")

"Compota Prepositorum et Custumariorum reddita apud Dunde.

Compota prepositorum burgi de Abirden reddita Maij 12°, 1341. . . .

Memorandum Similiter, quod computantes recusarunt onerari de firmis burgi predicti de termino Sancti Martini, anni 1336, causam assignantes, quod dicta villa fuit combusta per inimicos, et quod de dicto termino nihil potuit leuari, nec dictum burgum inhabitare audebant; et quotquot inhabitabant, Anglicis adheserunt. Ad quam causam verificandam, obligarunt communitatem sub pena mille librarum."—*Exch. Rolls*, I, 472.

Similar entries occur in 1342 (p. 484), and 1343 (p. 526). Cf. *Chronicon de Lanercost*, p. 286.

A recent writer thus deals with the subject:—"After relating this story [of the taking of the Castle] in all its details the unavowed author of that most charming but unmated *first* and only volume, 'The Book of Bon-Accord,' becomes, as he perhaps a little too often becomes, 'L'homme qui rit'—laughing heartily at the whole thing, characterising that part of Mr. Kennedy's Annals as 'an almost unparalleled specimen of carelessness and blundering.' He also laughs at Mr. Wilson, author of the 'History and Delineation of Aberdeen,' for giving 'a still more Hibernian aspect' to 'this happy *bull*.' It seems presumption to criticise Dr. Joseph Robertson, who was a prince among antiquaries for accuracy, but we frankly confess that we do not see where the laugh comes in. Kennedy narrates the story of the capture of the Castle by the citizens as handed down by Hector Boece, and adds that it was razed to the ground. The front of Kennedy's offending, however, lies in this that two pages after, he relates that the citadel of Aberdeen, being the only stronghold which had been wrested from the English, Edward sent an expedition to *retake* it. Robertson's mirth is over the retaking of a razed castle. But does not this look like hypercriticism on his part. The story may or may not be credible on historical grounds, but we do not see that Kennedy has in any sense exposed himself to ridicule for his mode of recounting it. It is surely not the first time in history that a heap of ruins has been the cause of fierce contention, their very site giving to the victor the key of the position. It is one thing, and a very good thing too, in the midst of so much that is unveracious 'to be troubled with a pride of accuracy,' but it is quite another thing to 'wrest scripture.' In Kennedy's Annals, Aberdeen possesses a work which, for an honest, painstaking effort to embody historical truth, has not been surpassed, and may not be impugned lightly."—*Historic Scenes in Aberdeenshire*, by Mr. John Bulloch in the *Weekly News*, 5th May, 1883.

## Appendix Y.

*References to Seals in Town Council Register.*

*6 Oct., 1447.*

"Item the samyn dai be avise of the said counsaile the secrete seel was deliuerit in keping to John Gray to be seelit with the aldermans seel in a purs."—Council Register, vol. V², p. 722.

*24 Oct., 1447.*

"The hale counsale Ripely avisit has fundin and concludit that John of Fife for a quarter John the Vaus for a quarter Gilbert Meignes for a quarter and John Blyndseil and Thom Blyndseil and Adam hill for a quarter sal ansuer and Red the toune of the det aucht to Thomas bernwale of londone,* and sal freith and bryng hame the cōmoune seel and content the nyghboris of the toune that thair gudes warr tane tharfor and allowit be bernwale and the Alderman sal tak souertee of the said persounes that thai sal content the thing that awying to the nyghboris of the toune betwix this pasch next to cum and thai sal deliuer the Remanant that is acht to bernwale to four lele men to be chosin be the Alderman to be kepit to bernwall availe, and that be the samyn tyme."—*C. R.*, vol. V², p. 723.

*17 Feb., 147$\frac{4}{5}$.*

"It is ordanit and decretit be the Alderman and the counsel underwritten, that the commoune seil and the secret seil salbe deliuerit frely to the Alderman that beis chosin for the time and to the counsall yerly fra thine furth, apon the Friday next after that the Alderman be chosin, and to be deliuerit agane at thare wil in keping to quhom that plesis thaim best, and that na letter salbe selit fra thine furth with the common seil, bot at the sycht of the Aldirman and the hail consel."—*C. R.*, vol. VI., p. 345.

* Cf. 'Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland,' Vol. IV., pp. 226-7.

*29 Oct., 1485.*

"Ye counsale and communitie bean present for ye tyme ordanit three or four persons of ye counsale to pass to Alexander Marris wyf to ger hyr deliuer ye half common sele to sele the baillies commission and gyf scho makis ony excus sayand scho has it not na wate not quhar it is ye hale counsale and communitie foresaid has ordanit to call doune ye said half sele and to ger of new anc vyer."—*C. R.*, vol. VI., p. 936.

*19 May, 1501.*

"The said day ye alderman counsal and communite ordanit ye tane half of yair commone seile to be givin to Alexr Menzes and Alexr Rede in keping and to be vnder tua lokis ilkane of thame havand ane key And ye toyer half of thair commone sele to be given to Robert Blinsel and Jonhne Wormet in keping to be put vnder tua lokis ilkane of thame havand ane key and to sel na writis yrwt quhile yai be Red to ye haill tone." —*C. R.*, vol. VII., p. 1091.

*8 Nov., 1501.*

"The said day ye alderman in ye townis name ordainit ale yt has commone seillis of ye said burght to bring and present thame befor ye towne one mononday next to cum yt yai myt awiss w$^{t}$ ye keping and observing of the samyn according tó resson."—*C. R.*, vol. VIII., p. 24.

*10 Jan., 151$\frac{5}{6}$.*

"The said day It was deliuerit and ordanit be ye bailzeis consale and ane gret part of ye comunite yt ye kepairs of yar commoun seill deliuer ye samyne to John of Mar provest to haue to ye month to seill ye process of forfatour of Alexr lord Hvme."—*C. R.*, vol. IX., p. 542.

*8 Oct., 1546.*

"The said day ye bailzeis and haill counsale decernit and ordinit Walter Cullane y$^{r}$ nybo$^{r}$ and conburgess to

haue ye keyping of ye half of ye commoun seiil qlk vmqll Andro Cullane his fader had abefor in keiping in tym to cum and ye same not to be takin fra him wt out ane notabill faill and falt maid be him yr wt and knawin to ye haill toun And yr efter ye same beyng schavin and proponit to ye communite ya affermit ye same."—*C. R.*, vol. XIX., p. 223.

*27th Oct., 1561.*

"The said day, the prowest, baillies, and counsell, decernit and ordanit Alexr. Cullane, thair nychtbour and comburges, to haue the keiping of the half of thair commound seall, quhilk Andro Cullan, his grandsir, and Walter Cullan, his guidsir, had in keiping obefoir, to be observit and keipit be him in tyme cumyng and vsit as the counsell and communitie thinkis expedient, and nocht to be takin fra him without ane notable falt be committit be him in keiping tharof, and the same be knawin to the haill toune, conforme to the last act maid be the counsell at the deliuering of the said half seall to his said guidsyr, of the dayt the aucht day of October, the yeir of God ane thousand fyvve hundreyth fourty and sax yeiris; and that in respect it is considderit and knawin be the counsell that the said Alexr is potent and strenzeabill in fyschingis, landis, and guidis, to ansuir for the same, and qualifeit to succeyd in offyce, cuyr, and dignytie in the place and rowme of his saidis grandsir and gudsyr; and decernit this act and ordinans to be intimat to the haile communite of this burght on Freday nixt cumis, or in the nixt court quhen thai ar convenit for thair approbatioun thereof; vpoun the quhilkis the said Alexr. askit act and instrumentis in presens of the haill consell."—*C. R.*, vol. XXIV., p. 276.

*26 Nov., 1593.*

"The said day, it being wnderstand be the town, convenit this day to thair publict rowping, that the common seall of this burgh, quairwith the chartouris and preceptis of lesing

of the fischingis and land tackis haldin of the samin ar seallit, as also the previe seall, callit the seall of caus, quhairwith the testimoniallis and boirbrevis that passis to uther pairtis beyond sey ar seallit, hes gevin na proffit nor commoditie to the commoun use of the toun, in that at the sealing of the saidis evidentis the persones having evidentis to be seallit, the said commoun seall hes bestowit expensiss and chargis of geving of wyne to the subscryveris of the saidis evidentis, quhilk thay have thocht guid to be convertit for sealing wyne to the commoun use and proffit of the toun, and thairfor ordanit that all persones that sall have evidentis to be seallit with the said commoun seall, sall pay to the keparis thairof fourtie s. for ilk seall, and that all persones that sall have testimoniallis or boirbrevis to be seallit with the said previe seall sal pay to the keparis thairof, they being extranearis, fourtie s. for euerie seall, and gif thay be burgessis of this burgh tuentie s., and that the keparis of the saidis seallis sall be comptabill and ansuirabill for the said seall syluer to the prouest, baillies, consall, and auditouris of the comptis, and employit and bestowit to the commoun guid of the toun, and this act to indure quhill Michaelmes nixt, and langer as sal be thocht expedient."—*C. R.*, vol. XXXV., p. 163.

*16th Feb., 1670.*

"The said day the Counsell ordaines the privie seall of this brughe and small casket for letters to be rectified and inlargeit with supporters in the best forme that sall be found most convenient by advyce of the magrats."—*C. R.*, vol. LV., p. 201.

## Appendix Z.

### *Factories and Commissions, 1537-41.*

Factory and Commission by the Baillies, Council, and Community, empowering John Collisoun, Elder, and Mr.

Henry Bonariss, as their Commissioners to appear before the Auditors of Exchequer at Edinburgh, on the 16th day of September, then instant, and there to produce the Charter granted by the King's Royal Predecessors relieving free Burgesses of the Burgh of all Custom upon their Salmon, and that for the Exoneration of the Town's Customer, before the saids Auditors.

". . . In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostrum causarum siue contractuum presentibus est appensum apud Aberden duodecimo die mensis Septembris anno domini MDXXXVII." —Aberdeen Burgh Writs, $A^2$. 11.

Factory and Commission by the Baillies, Council and Community in favour of Thomas Menzes therein Provost, as their Commissioner, to meet in the town of Dundee, on the 10th day of August then instant, with the Commissioners of Dundee, Montrose, St Johns and St Andrews for determining as to the public good of the Merchants of these Burghs, in regard to the conventions & Staple at Campfeir in Flanders, and to demand a Hotel there, for Merchants, where they might reside free from Assizes & Talliages, and for freeing the saids Merchants from being bound to meet in one given place.

". . . In cuius rei testimonium sigillum secretum dicti nostri burgi quo ad causas vtimur presentibus appendi fecimus Apud Aberden quinto die mensis Augusti Anno domini MDXLI."—$A^2$. 12.

## Appendix A A.

### *Kinds of Seals.*

"What relates to the different kinds or divisions of seals, as Hoppingius describes these at full length, it will be sufficient for our purpose to remark, That there was a greater and lesser seal; the first was denominated the *authentic* or *common* seal, the last the *secret* or *privy* seal.

The use of the *authentic*, which we now call the *great seal*, was in public matters, such as diplomas, which we commonly call charters, privileges, remissions, and the like; but the privy seal got its name from this, that it was used in more secret affairs—for example, in epistles. Letters sealed with this last seal were for most part shut; and such as were sealed with the authentic seal were open; thence diplomas, to which this last was affixed, were used to be called *letters patent*. Nor was the privy seal used only in private business, but it was likewise used in public transactions, being put on the back of the great seal; for which reason it was called the *counter seal*, because it used to be put on the opposite side of the great seal; sometimes, as Dufresne remarks, it is to be found hanging at the great seal; but Mabillon desires us to notice, That the counter seal, which is of equal size with the great seal, must be distinguished from the privy seal, as is the modern custom."—Ruddiman's Introduction to Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiae*, 1773, p. 95.

## [Appendix B B.

### *Early Descriptions of the Burgh Arms.*

#### I.

"Cromwell effected that which had baffled the Roman Cæsars and the English Edwards—the complete subjugation of Scotland. His army, under the command of General Monk, entered Aberdeen on Sunday, the 7th of September, 1651. . . . . The feelings of the citizens seem to have been strongly excited by the presence of 'their auld enemies of England,' and some worthy burgess gave expression to his wounded pride in the following homely verses, which are preserved in MS.: 'Copy of the lines that was found in the north end of the laigh Council-house, at the English incoming to Aberdeen:—

Our antient forbearis of this burgh
Were of great courage and of manhood stout;
Their lives, their lands, and all that they were worth,
They would not spare, but hazard all in doubt,
Their commonwealth and honours to get out;
As proved well, be sure experience,
The winning of the Castle of defence,
Builded full strong upon the Castle Hill
By Englishmen, who, by the force of arms,
Then did subdue the country at their will:
Our good forbears, perceiving this distress,
With heardy hearts they did themselves address,
And man the fort by force withouten fear,
And slew the Captain and his men of war;
Wherefore our King to this his town did yield
To bear unto their banners and their badge
Three strong towers within a bloody field,
Compassed about as it were in a hedge,
With double tressure in sign of good courage,
With two leopards holding all together,
In Bon-Accord and peace to live forever.

Finis—quod Thomsone.'"

—Book of Bon-Accord, pp. 79-81.

II.

"*Arx triplex, arcem testatur ab hoste receptam,*
*Hostis utrinque doces, tu Leoparde genus.*
*Lillia cum Clypeo, voti Rex pignora jussit*
*Esse, color fusi signa cruoris habet.*
*Hæc hostes sensere,* Bona *et* Concordia *(virtus*
*Qua res usque viget publica) culta domi.*

In English thus:—

The threefold *Towres*, the *Castle* showes regain'd
From *Enemies*, who it by force maintain'd.

The *Leopards*, which on each hand ye view,
The cruell temper of these foes do shew.*
The *Shield* and *Lillies*, by the *King's Command*
As pledges of his great good-will do stand
The Collour, calls the Blood there shed to mind,
Which these proud Foes unto their cost did find.
And BON ACCORD, (by which doth safety come
To *Common-Wealths*) establisht was at home.
I[ohn] B[arclay]."

—Quoted in Skene's Succinct Survey, p. 234.]

## APPENDIX C C.

### *Parson Gordon's Description of the Arms.*

"Urbis insignia sunt tria castella argentea planitie coccinea seu sanguinea descripta eaque duplici linea circumdata iridis floribus seu liliis candidis multis adinvicim obversis intersecta duobus leopardis suffulta symbolo voce Gallica [Bon accord] quod idem ac Pax inter Concives sonat. Hæc a Davide Brussio Scotorum rege usurpari jussa sub id tempus quo Abredonenses arcem urbi praesidiariam pulsis Anglis recuperaverant postquam Angli abusque seculo Eduardi primi Anglorum regis (qui et arcis conditor) tenuissent. Dux facti Kennedus de Kearmuick commarcha cujus posteri titulo honorario constabulorum de Aberdeen in perpetuam rei memoriam (quanquam hodie titulus exoleverit) insigniti."—*Abredoniae Utriusque Descriptio*, MS. in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, pressmark 34-2-8.

Thus somewhat freely rendered by the contemporary translator:—

"The armes of the citie are ane escutcheone or a feild gules charged with thrie castells argent, *2 of thes in the*

*[It is curious that in none of the legends professing to account for the bearings and motto, is any attempt made to explain the appearance of the supporters. The reference above suggests the query: Are the leopards simply the *lions léopardés* (Cf. App. N N, letter 4) that would have appeared on the standard of the English enemies?]

*1 and 3d cheffe the 3d in the 5th,* enclosit with a double tressor counter flowred with flower de luces argent, supported with twa leopards tauny, the moto Bon accord, a French word signifieing concord amongst the citizens. Thes armes wer granted to Aberdeen by David Bruce, King of Scotland, after that they hade regained the Castell from the Englishes, which they hade constantlie keept garrisoned from the tyme of Edward Longshanks, quho is said to have builded it, or repaired it rather. Ther leader in this attchievement wes one Kennedy of Kearmini [*sic*]; for which service his posteritie wer honored with the title and dignity of Constables of Aberdeen; though that title and dignity be now prescryved." MS. in same volume. The words in italics are omitted in the Spalding Club Edition, p. 20.

## Appendix D D.

### *Bailie Skene.*

"Under the Reign of King *David* Bruce, . . . . the Englishes having continued their Rapine and Cruelty in Aberdeen, by keeping a strong Garrison in the Castle, the Citizens taking Counsell how they might free themselves of that Yoke and Servitude, at last resolved to fall upon the Garrison whom they cut off, and thereafter levelled the Castle with the ground, whence it was, that in honour of that resolute Act, they got their Ensignes Armoriall, which to this day they bear: witness that late Book of Heraldry, set forth by Sir George McKenzie of Rosehaugh, Knight, His Majesties Advocat, who hath blazoned the Arms of Aberdeen particularly thus:—

The Arms or Ensigns Armoriall of the Burgh Royal of Aberdeen, beareth Gules, three Towres triple, towered in a double-Tressure counter flowered Argent, supported by

two Leopards propper, the Motto in an Escroll above, BON-ACCORD, whence are these Verses:—

Arx triplex &c. [See Appendix B B.]

And upon the reverse of the Seal of the said Burgh is insculped in a field Azure, a Temple Argent, St. *Nicholas* standing in the Porch, Mytered and Vested propper, with his Dexter hand lifted up to Heaven praying over three Children in a Boyling Caldron of the first, and holding in the Sinister a Crosier Ore: these were the Old-Arms of the Burgh-Royall of Aberdeen as His Majesties Advocat, in his book above-mentioned relates."—Succinct Survey of the Famous City of Aberdeen. Aberdeen, 1685, p. 233.

## APPENDIX E E.

### *Nisbet.*

"The Town of Aberdeen got the double Tressure a Part of the Royal Bearing added to their Arms, by the Order of King *Robert* the Bruce, for their Fidelity and Loyalty to him, being Gules three Towers embattled Argent, and masoned Sable, within a double tressure of the Second." —Essay on Armories. Edinb., 1718, p. 134.

"The Towers born by the Town of Aberdeen . . . . in our books are blazoned, Gules, Three Towers (not Castles), triple tower'd within a Double Tressure, flower'd and counterflower'd Argent, supported by two Leopards proper, with the Motto, Bon Accord.

The Double Tressure being a part of the Royal Arms, was granted as an honourable additament for the singular Loyalty of the Citizens of Aberdeen, who cut off in one Night the old Enemies the English, their word being Bon-Accord; which arms are on the surface of the Town Seal, and on the Reverse, in a Field Azure, a Church Argent, massoned Sable, St. *Michael* standing in the Porch, Mitred and Vested proper, with his Right Hand

lifted up, praying over three Children in a boiling Cauldron of the 1st, and in his left hand a Crosier Or."—System of Heraldry. Edinb., 1722, p. 418.

[APPENDIX F F.

"This town has two coats of arms; one which it used of old, and another which it received more of late; the one being now born the one side, and the other on the other side, of the town's seal.

Its old arms were the image of its patron saint, *Nicholas*, thus: azure, a church argent, massoned sable, Saint Nicholas standing in the porch, mitred and vested proper, with his right hand lifted up, praying over three children in a boyling caldron of the first, and in his left hand a crosier or.

Its late arms represent its castle, which the townsmen recovered so remarkably from the English, thus: gules, three towers triple-towr'd, within the tressure of Scotland, argent; supported by two leopards, proper: Motto, Bon-Accord.

'Quid memorem ternos, tria propugnacula, colles,
Qualibus urbs surgit qua caput orbis erat?'

'Tis situated on three hills: the Castlehill; the Porthill (or Gallowgate, so called from the chief port of the town, and from the gallows, which once stood here); and Saint Catherine's hill; so that it is ascended to on all sides, which gives some advantage to the prospect, and renders the air so much better."—Collections on the Shires of Banff (Spalding Club), 1843, p. 123. See also pp. 43, 45.]

[APPENDIX G G.

*Bishop Keith.*

Aberdeen "suffered greatly in the Time of the Civil Wars betwixt Bruce and Baliol by an English Garrison

in the Castle, which the Citizens having with great Unanimity and Boldness stormed, and put the Garrison to the Sword; in Memory of so brave an Action, it bears for Arms three Castles in a bloody Shield, tressed round with Flower de Lis, with two Leopards for Supporters, and the Motto Bon Accord. But the English returning with a Fleet about four Years after, in the Reign of King *David* II., anno 1333, and having landed in the Night time, surprised and burnt the City, and killed most of the Inhabitants; the burning lasted for six Days."—Catalogue of Scotch Bishops, 1760, p. 61.]

## Appendix H H.

*Kennedy.*

"As an honourable testimony of the patriotism and zealous services of the citizens on these momentous occasions, and to perpetuate the memory of their signal achievements at this important conjuncture, King *Robert* granted to them his royal permission to change the ancient armorial bearings of the town, and to assume their present arms [here the erroneous copy of the Patent is given in a footnote] with the motto 'Bon Accord,' being their watch-word on that memorable day."—Annals of Aberdeen, 1818, vol. I., re-issue, p. 25.

## Appendix I I.

"*The Armorial Bearings of Aberdeen as represented in the Woodcuts of the Early Printers of the City.*

Sir,

The earliest woodcut representation of the armorial bearings of Aberdeen which I have met with is on Andrew Logie's 'Cum Bono Deo. Raine from the clouds upon a

Choicke Angel. . . . Aberdene: Imprinted by Edward Raban, dwelling upon the Market Place, at the Townes Armes, 1624. Cum privilegio.' I have seen it mentioned that in the almanac published by Raban for 1624 the arms appear on the titlepage, but a copy of so early a date has never come under my inspection. As this almanac must have been ready for the chapmen in the first days of 1624, we may safely infer that the wood-block was prepared in 1623. I may also mention that although Raban published an almanac for 1623, I have no note of the woodcut occurring in that print. Another circumstance which leads me to believe that the arms appeared for the first time on the almanac of 1624 is the fact that on no book printed at Aberdeen by Raban in 1622 or 1623 is the woodcut to be met with, but in subsequent years it very frequently occurs. Very soon after its first appearance the wood-block seems to have met with an accident, for I have noted that in D. Gordon's 'Pharmaco-Pinax. . . . Aberdene, imprinted by Edward Raban, Anno 1625,' the arms are slightly cracked. This crack is sufficient to identify the same wood-block which was used until Raban vanishes from the scene in 1649, and by his successors Brown and the Forbeses until the beginning of 18th century. In this wood-block the leopards are both full-faced, and the tails pass down between the hind legs.

The next woodcut in date appears on a broad-sheet, 'The Burger's Oath.' It is not dated, but as the Sovereign to whom allegiance is sworn is Queen Anne, the date must be between 1702 and 1714. It is a debased copy of Raban's block, which, however, has been carefully followed in the position of the leopards.

I have yet another example, and one to which I can positively assign a later date. It occurs on a broad-sheet advertisement in Latin, in which the Provost, Magistrates, and Council of Aberdeen, announce a competition to be held for the office of undermaster in the Grammar School. It is dated the first of May, 1717. It is smaller than either

ARMS OF THE BURGH, as shown on Woodblock used by Raban, 1624.

ARMS OF THE BURGH, as shown on Woodblock used by Raban, 1630.

ANDW. GIBB & CO. LTD'S
3, QUEEN ST. ABDN

of the former representations, and measures only 54 milometres square, but to a limited extent the spirit of the old engraver of Raban's block has been reinfused into the design. Both leopards are full-faced, and the tails hang down between the hind legs, but *the three towers on the shield are triple towered and the tressure is given with eight fleur-de-lis.* This block, which was cut for James Nicol, who printed from 1710-1736, was afterwards used by his successor, James Chalmers. It appears on the first number of the *Aberdeen Journal* in 1747, and continued to head that paper for a considerable time.

. . . . .

In 'The Aberdeen Printers,' now in the press, I have mentioned the occurrence in some of the scarcest of Raban's books of a woodcut representation of the arms of the city of Aberdeen in a form not hitherto noticed by any writer on the subject. A unicorn rampant supports a shield with three towers on the field. There is very little indication of the tressure, and the towers are not triple towered. There is no motto or scroll attached.

Yours, &c.,

J. P. EDMOND."

—*Aberdeen Journal*, 21st November, 1883.

## APPENDIX J J.

### *The Provost's Badge.*

*24th September, 1760.*

"The said day The double Council taking under their Consideration the frequent proposals formerly made, that the Magistrates of this City should wear Some proper Badge of Distinction, so that their office should be known on all occasions. They therefore unanimously Agreed that the Provost should wear a Gold Chain in

the Same form with that of the Lord Provost of Edinburgh ; And Appointed the Dean of Guild to provide the same ; And the double Council Statute and ordained that the said Gold Chain shall be worn by all Succeeding Provosts ; And the Council further ordain, that in case its agreable to the other Magistrates that they be provided with Gold Chains also, in the Same form with those of the Magistrates of Edinburgh, For all which these presents shall be warrand."—Council Register, Vol. LXII., p. 292.

## Appendix K K.

### " *The Heraldry of the Public Buildings.*

Before bringing our observations upon the Fine Arts Exhibition to a close, it may not be out of place to make a few remarks upon some examples of another branch of art which come prominently under the notice of visitors to the Exhibition. We refer to the windows of the Grand Staircase.

These are admirable specimens of glass-staining ; but in several instances there are errors in the design of some of the more important heraldic atchievements, which, we think, should not have appeared in a work of such importance.

To begin with the Royal Arms. Here the supporters are represented standing upon the scroll containing the motto, instead of upon a compartment having the scroll suspended from it. The badges of the three kingdoms are wanting : an unpardonable omission in a prominent public place ; and the want of these, with the inelegant drawing of the scroll and the weight of mantling above the shield, makes the representation look weak and unbalanced. The sinister supporter, the lion, and also the lion of the crest, are represented *proper* instead of *or*. This is improper. It may or may not be an error of the stainer, but, in any case, it should have no place here. The garter and scroll

ought to have been *azure;* but, as the ground of the window is blue, the change to *argent* vindicates itself, and may be passed over.

On either side of the Royal Arms are those of the City of Aberdeen. In this case we find the colour of the supporters inaccurately represented; instead of *proper*, they, in contradistinction to the lion supporter of the Royal Arms, are represented as being *or*. They are also represented in different attitudes, one *guardant* and the other not; and neither the aspect nor the spots are those of leopards.

The arms themselves are beautifully designed, the 'three towers triple-towered' being most exactly represented. This is a rare occurrence, for in the prevailing treatment of the city ensigns they are commonly represented as single towers.

But what shall we say to the representation of the Royal tressure in the shield as *or* instead of *argent?* This is a blunder with a vengeance; completely altering the arms, and rendering them not those of the City of Aberdeen. The unsightliness here, apart from the heraldic inaccuracy, is obvious at a glance, as it destroys the harmony of the silver towers within the silver tressure.

The compartment for the supporters, which is wanting in the Royal Arms, is here beautifully supplied; and the badge of Scotland, the thistle, is added, where it might properly have been omitted.

The practice of representing the supporters of the City Arms in different attitudes has been of late coming into fashion about the Council Chamber, and some other places; but it is both unsightly and inaccurate. The patent of the arms confirmed to the city in 1674 by the Lyon King of Arms, which is given at length in 'Kennedy's Annals,' vol. i., page 25, blazons the arms as 'three towers triple-towered within a double-tressure counterflowered argent,' and the supporters as 'two leopards proper,' making no mention of the dexter being *guardant*. This patent is the

authority by which the arms are borne. No confirmation is needed; but Sir George Mackenzie and Nisbet give these blazons in their Treatises on Heraldry.

There is a drawing in the Provost's Room in the City Chambers, furnished recently, we believe, by the Lyon office, in which the dexter supporter is represented *guardant.* This may be the work of the painter in the Lyon office; but in the face of the patent it is of no authority, although it may have led to the adoption of the present fashion by those who were ignorant of the blazon given in the patent.

The occurrence of supporters of the same kind in different attitudes is so rare in heraldry that some good reason and authority must be adduced for their being so borne. No one could alter the terms of the original patent except the Lyon King of Arms; and assuredly no application could ever have been made to him to make an alteration on the ancient atchievement of the City of Aberdeen.

Turning to the opposite side of the staircase, we find in the middle division of the window the Royal Arms of Scotland. These are well designed, but the omission of the badge of the kingdom, and also of the compartment on which the supporters should be placed, again occurs. However, from the better design and greater length of the scroll the defect is less obvious here than in the Royal Arms opposite; but the compartment and the badge ought to have been represented.

An inaccuracy occurs in the design of the crowns with which the unicorns are collared. These, which ought to be *antique* crowns, that is, crowns with points, are represented as *open* or *ducal* crowns. The lion of the crest also, instead of being depicted in the beautiful tincture of the lion in the shield, is of some indefinable colour like faded pink. A very unworthy representation of him!

To the right and left of this atchievement are represented the arms of the three ancient earldoms comprised in the shire of Aberdeen; the Earldom of Mar, the Earldom,

afterwards Lordship, of Garioch, and the Earldom of Buchan.

These are very beautifully designed; but the arms given for Garioch are not those of the earldom or lordship: they are those borne by Alexander Stewart, son of the Earl of Buchan, who married the Countess of Mar in the fifteenth century, from whom he acquired the Lordship of Garioch; and by the sons of James II. and James III. while they held it. The arms of the earldom and lordship were *three open crowns* only; the *fess chequee* being added for Stewart during the time the lordship was possessed by the Stewarts.

With respect to the badge of the Thistle, which appears no less than four times in the windows, we find it encircled by a belt containing the motto. This is a blunder. It ought to have been surrounded by a plain circle containing the motto. No badge is ever encircled by a belt, or motto placed upon one, saving only the badge and motto of the Order of the Garter—'Honi soit qui mal y pense.'

We presume it is to the want of a heraldic subject that we owe the inscription on one of the spaces in the east window, which tells us that something was '1867 commenced; finished 1873.' Whether this perishable record refers to the window or the building, as begun and ended of these dates, does not appear; but any uncertainty on the point will be removed on turning to the cast of the Royal Arms, from the old Court-House, which has been thought worthy of a place in the wall of the staircase. There we find the Royal Arms as they have not been borne since the death of William the Fourth, namely: with the Arms of Hanover on an escutcheon of pretence; and the archæologist of the future will thus be led to fix the date of the building as prior to 1837!

Before passing from the windows, we must say that the beauty of the diapering in the shields is marvellous. This enhances the regret that the designs are not perfect.

Leaving the staircase, we will just glance at the other heraldic decorations of the building.

The carvings of the City Arms on the front of the main tower, and above the melancholy effigy clad in Provost Davidson's apocryphal armour, in the vestibule, being cut in stone, will last for all time. The greater the pity, therefore, that the towers should be there represented as single, instead of triple-towered. The intractable nature of the material may be some excuse for this, and for the general heaviness of the composition; but surely the supporters might have had more of the lithe grace of leopards. They seem to be meant for lionesses, a bearing unknown in heraldry. One good point there is about them, however, they are both represented in the same attitude.

As to the adornments of the Council Chamber, we shall say no more than that they are such gross misrepresentations of the Arms of the City as serve only to show what heraldic bearings become in the hands of decorators."—*Free Press*, 23rd October, 1873.

## Appendix L L.

"*Town House Heraldry.*

Sir,

In a letter to you dated 28th September, 1883, Mr. George Angus expressed his belief that in the collection of shields on the ceiling of the Council Chamber 'there is but one inaccuracy.' This was subsequently denied by two correspondents, 'A Chevron,' and 'D.' No case in point, however, was then instanced, as, in criticising the erroneous descriptions of these shields contained in a published account of the collection, the much more serious errors in the shields themselves were not prominently brought forward.

A very cursory inspection of the ceiling, however, is enough to show one that gross errors are not far to seek. If there be any arms which it might have been expected would be shown with accuracy in accordance

with the recognised and easily accessible forms of representation, surely such are the bearings of the two ancient Universities of Aberdeen. What, then, do we find?

. . . . . .

They are very pretty, the shields on the ceilings there, but their chief value lies in the fact that they illustrate, within convenient limits, all the kinds of errors that can be introduced into such heraldic collections. Thus:—

1. Arms are arbitrarily assigned to persons having no right to such.

2. Where the right is unquestionable, the bearings are in many cases represented incorrectly.

3. Throughout the series an attempt has been made to unite, in a most curious manner, the representation of bearings in high relief and in the tinctures used on a flat surface.

4. While the crowns of sovereigns, the coronets of nobles, the mitres of bishops, and the helms *affrontée* of knights are placed above their shields, the helms in profile of esquires and of gentlemen are systematically omitted, although, as heraldic accessories to escutcheons, these are exactly on a level with the former.

5. The entrance to the rectangular room being in one of the longer sides, the shields are presented sideways to the entrant.

6. So far as any guiding principle can be traced in the arrangement of the shields, it would seem that the ceiling had been looked on as if it stood upright, with the result that the more honoured coat—that of the City of Aberdeen—being placed on the dexter side of the Scottish arms, appears above the head of the person who sits to the *left* of the Lord Provost's chair, while the coat of Old Aberdeen has the place of honour on the *right* hand.

7. But in reality, in the arrangement there is no historical continuity whatsoever, blank shields being scattered in an apparently promiscuous manner throughout the series.

It only remained that, taking the collection as it stands, an utterly incorrect description should be published. This has been furnished by the work referred to above—'Aberdeen Townhall Armorial Bearings.' Aberdeen: Printed at the *Free Press* Office. 1877.

I am, &c.,

P. J. A."

—*Aberdeen Journal*, March 12, 1884.

"*The City Arms and Town House Heraldry.*

SIR,

In the letter which appeared in your paper of the 12th inst., 'P. J. A.,' criticising the armorial bearings represented on the ceiling of the Council chamber, remarks that if any arms might have been expected to be shown with accuracy they were those of the ancient Universities of Aberdeen, and the errors in their representation are specially noted.

Towards the conclusion of his letter he refers to the shield of arms of the city of Aberdeen as being placed in a less honourable position on the ceiling than it ought to have occupied. The bearings on the shield, however, did not come within the scope of his criticism. But if there is one shield above all others, even those of the Universities, in which error is inexcusable, surely it is that which purports to bear the arms of the city. Yet here, notwithstanding that the patent of the arms, which is in the possession of the city authorities, was accessible, the bearings are shown, not as towers triple-towered, but as castles, a change which entirely alters the character of the arms, making them more like those of the city of Newcastle, or the city of Dublin, than those of the city of Aberdeen.

I am, &c.,

Z [John Cruickshank]."

—*Aberdeen Journal*, March 19, 1884.

## Appendix M M.

### "*Aberdeen Heraldry.*

Edinburgh, *21st Sept., 1885.*

Sir,

I believe that a good deal of condemnatory criticism has been directed against attempts that have been made of recent years in Aberdeen in the way of heraldic decoration. Not without justice, it must be confessed ; for it would seem that many of those in authority know little and care less about the exact details of their city's coat of arms. Witness the Council Chamber and the Trinity Hall. At the same time it may be urged in extenuation that they are but following examples in high places. Even the Lyon sometimes nods. The emblazonment of the Aberdeen arms certified by him two years ago, and recently exhibited at the meeting of the British Association, is not in accordance with the terms of the patent of 1674 ; for, while the latter makes no reference to the doors and windows of the three towers, in the former they are depicted black, instead of red, the colour of the field. Now, this is in direct contradiction to the principles laid down by the recognised authorities. 'The Gate,' says Guillim, 'must be conceived to be transparent, so as the Field doth manifestly shew itself thorow the same.' So Sir George Mackenzie :—'But if the Blazon assign not the Tincture of the Ports, then these are shewn open of the Field.' And Nisbet :—'When the Windows and Ports of the Castles and other Buildings are of a different Tincture from the Field, the Windows and Ports are supposed to be shut, and must be so exprest in the Blazon.' More recent writers follow these. *

"Nisbet," wrote the Lyon when his attention was directed to this criticism (25th September), "is the highest authority on Scottish practice, and the passage from that herald, if the author of the letter had quoted it in its integrity, would not have sanctioned his inference. It is (Vol. 1, p. 418, Ed. 1722)—'when the windows and ports of the castle are of a different tincture from the field *and building*, the windows and ports are supposed to be shut,

Is any authentic example known of the appearance of the *three* towers prior to 1624? Marischal College was founded in 1593, and on the old seal of the College, bearing the legend '*Insignia Academ Marischal. Abredon.*,' there appears but one tower. What is the date of the seal shown on the title page of the second volume of Kennedy's 'Annals,' bearing the inscription '*Sigillum secretum burgi Abirdonen ad causas*'? Can the three towers have any connection with the '*tria propugnacula*' of Johnston's well-known epigram?*

Then again—as to the story of the grant of arms by Robert Bruce—can this legend really be traced to Hector Boece, or does it appear for the first time in Sir Charles Erskine's Patent? If I recollect aright, some defence of the fable was recently attemped; but it must be remembered that Dr. Joseph Robertson's demolition of it has been endorsed by no less competent authorities than Professor Cosmo Innes and Mr. John Hill Burton. The oldest city seal, of the design on which the latter coat is manifestly a transference (as is the case with many other Scottish burghs), is of greater antiquity. It is known to have been used in the reign of David I.

Yours, &c.,

I. H. G."

—*Aberdeen Journal*, 23rd September, 1885.

and must be so expressed in the blazon; *if the windows and ports are of the tincture of the field* so that the field is seen through them, they are then supposed to be open, *which is to be expressed in the blazon*, and for which the French say *ajoure*, as of other figures that are voided of the field.' The verbal blazon of the Arms of Aberdeen in the Lyon Register neither describes the doors and windows as of a different tincture from the field nor as open; and therefore agreeably to our usage, which is substantially in accordance with Nisbet's Canon, they are of the tincture *of the towers themselves*, but shaded, which no doubt may give an impression something like sable."

* "Quid memorem ternos, tria propugnacula, colles
Qualibus Urbs surgit qua caput Orbis erat?"
*Arturi Jonstoni Poemata*, Middelb., 1642, p. 440.

Englished thus:—

"What need I further the *three Hills* to name
Which as *three Bulwarks* fortifie the *Same*
Like these on which that *City* doth stand
Which once as *Head* did all the Earth command."
Skene's *Succinct Survey*, p. 259.

"*Aberdeen Heraldry.*

SIR,

I wish to offer one or two observations on the statements made by 'I. H. G.' in his letter to you of 21st ult.

I think the reference to the Trinity or Trades Hall is hardly justifiable. With the exception of one representation of the arms of the city, the heraldic decorations in that hall consist of the armorial ensigns of the Seven Incorporated Trades; and they are, in the main, in accordance with the patents granted to the several trades by the Lyon King of Arms 1681-1696.

'I. H. G.'s' animadversions on the emblazonment of the arms of the city, certified by the Lyon King in 1883 as being in accordance with the patent of 1674, are unwarrantable. He asserts that 'while the patent makes no reference to the doors and windows of the three towers in the emblazonment, they are depicted black instead of red, the colour of the field.' Now, it is not the case that they are *depicted* black; they are depicted of the colour of the towers—viz., *white*, and the blackness which he ascribes to them is only the usual shading, which is requisite in such representations.

What 'I. H. G.' would recognise when he asks whether there is 'any *authentic* example known of the appearance of the three towers before 1624,' I fail to apprehend, or why what date is fixed upon. Perhaps it has reference to the earliest examples of printers' book representations, which appear in that year; but an example carved in oak is in the vestry of East St. Nicholas Church, amongst other fine specimens of oak carving saved from the spoliation of the old edifice, and it shows the three towers and bears the date 1606.

'I. H. G.'s' question, whether the 'three towers have any connection with the *tria propugnacula* of Johnston's well-known epigram,' is worthy of regard. It points to the probability that the three hills on which the city then stood

—Castle Hill, St. Catherine's Hill, and the Gallowgate or Windmill Hill, which the epigram implies were fortified, did suggest the adoption in the arms of three towers in place of one. Yours, &c.,

[John] C[ruickshank]."

—*Aberdeen Journal*, 29th October, 1885.

## Appendix N N.

### *Aberdeen Heraldic Devices.**

The Aberdeen arms, or some portions thereof, have been frequently introduced into heraldic compositions, authoritative or otherwise. The seven Trade Incorporations of the City, at a time when these bodies were more influential than they now are, received formal grants of arms from the Lyon King. These are interesting as being, with the curious exception of the like grants to the Trades of far distant Stornoway,† the only instance, in Scotland, where such Incorporations have been recognised by the heraldic authorities. The blazons are given below, from the original Record, with the dates of Registration. The cause is unknown of the new Grant to the Wrights and Coopers, embodying the full City Arms, instead of the single tower, and with the addition of a crest. The emblazonment accompanying this new grant is the only one that has survived. It is reproduced in the accompanying illustration.

*Trade Incorporations.*‡

I. Hammermen [15th May, 1682].—Gules, a dexter arm issuing from the sinister flank fessways, the

* See correspondence on the subject of Heraldic Representations in Aberdeen, in the *Aberdeen Journal* for September 26, and October 1, 4, 5, 9, 10, 1883.

† Dated 29th August, 1772.

‡ See 'Inscriptions from the Shields or Panels of the Incorporated Trades.' By Andrew Jervise. Aberdeen, 1863. And 'Coats Armorial of Scottish Trade Incorporations.' [P. J. Anderson.] Aberdeen, 1886.

ARMS OF THE WRIGHTS AND COOPERS' INCORPORATION OF ABERDEEN,
from the Emblazonment supplied by the Lyon Office in 1696.

hand bearing a smith's hammer proper hafted argent, and over it a crown or; in the dexter nombril a smith's anvil of the second, and above the same in chief a tower of Aberdeen. Motto: *Finis coronat opus.*

II. BAKERS [15th May, 1682].—Or, two baker's peels in saltire gules, each charged with three loaves in pale argent, between a tower of Aberdeen in chief, and a millrind in base of the third [!] Motto: *Floreant Pistores.*

III. WRIGHTS AND COOPERS [168 ?].—Quarterly. First: Gules, a tower of Aberdeen. Second: Gules, a compass or. Third: Azure, a square or. Fourth: Azure, a wright's axe argent, slassed or. Motto: *Our Redeemer liveth for ever.*

WRIGHTS & COOPERS [6th April, 1696. *New Grant*].—Quarterly. First: Gules, a wright's compass or. Second: Azure, a cooper's axe argent. Third: Azure, a square or. Fourth: Gules, a cooper's compass or. Over all, on a escutcheon, the Coat of the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen. Above the shield, on a suitable helmet with a mantle gules doubled argent, and wreath or, gules argent and azure, is set for crest an adder in circle proper, with this motto is an escroll above: *Our Redeemer liveth for ever.*

IV. TAILORS [15th May, 1682].—Quarterly. First: Gules, a tower of Aberdeen. Second: Azure, a pair of scissors or. Third: Argent, a smoothing iron azure. Fourth: Gules, a tailor's bodkin proper, hafted or. Motto: *In God is our Trust.*

V. SHOEMAKERS [18th November, 1681].—Gules, a shoemaker's shaping knife fessways, with the edge turned towards the chief, the blade proper and hafted argent; over the same a crown or; and in the dexter canton a tower of Aberdeen. Motto: *Lord crown us with Glory.*

VI. WEAVERS [15th May, 1682].—Azure, three leopard's heads erased argent, each having in its mouth a weaver's shuttle or; in the middle chief a tower of Aberdeen. Motto: *Spero in Deo et Ipse facit.*

VII. FLESHERS [15th May, 1682].—Gules, three flesher's knives fessways in pale, and on the dexter side an axe paleways, the edge towards the sinister, all the blades proper and hafted argent; in the middle chief a tower of Aberdeen. Motto: *Virtute vivo.*

The principal Academic Institutions of Aberdeen have been in use to employ coats of arms indicating their connection with the city of Bon-Accord, but none of these have obtained official sanction.* So far, however, as Marischal College and University was concerned, a prescriptive right can be claimed dating back to a period anterior to the Act of 1672.

*Marischal College and University.*†

Quarterly. First and fourth: Argent, a chief paly of six or and gules (the ancient bearings of the name of Keith). Second and third: Gules, a tower of Aberdeen. Crest: The Sun in his splendour. Motto: *Luceo.*

*The University of Aberdeen.*‡

Quarterly. First: Azure, a bough pot or, holding three lilies of the garden stalked and leaved proper, flowered argent, the dexter in bud, the sinister half-blown, the centre full blown, the bough pot charged with as many salmon fishes in fret proper; issuant downwards from the

* [By Codicil, of date 25th February, 1888, Mr. Cruickshank bequeathed "Fifty Pounds to the University of Aberdeen for the purpose of obtaining a proper coat of arms for the said University from the Lyon Court, payable to the Principal of said University for the time being."]

† See a short account of the Seals of Marischal College in *Notes and Queries* for March 28, 1885; 6th S. XI. 250.

‡ See 'Records of the Arts Class, 1868-72.' By P. J. Anderson. Aberdeen, 1882, Appendix III., p. 103. And *Alma Mater* for February 2, 1887, Vol. IV., p. 110.

ARMS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN.

ARMS OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF ABERDEEN.

ANDW. GIBB & CO. LITHRS
2. QUEEN ST. ABDN

centre chief amid rays of the sun a dexter hand holding a book expanded all proper (the bearings of University and King's College). Second: Keith, as in Marischal College coat. Third: Argent, a chevron sable between three boars' heads, erased gules (Elphinstone). Fourth: Gules, a tower of Aberdeen. Motto: *Initium Sapientiæ Timor Domini.*

*The Grammar School.* *

Gules, a tower of Aberdeen; impaling on the same field a sword paleways proper, hilted and pommelled or, between three padlocks argent (Dun); on a chief of the last a saltire azure, charged with a book expanded fessways proper, garnished or.

*Robert Gordon's College.*†

Quarterly. First and fourth: Azure, three boars' heads erased within a bordure or (Gordon of Pitlurg differenced). Second: Argent, on a chief indented vert, three crescents of the field (Simpson). Third: Gules, a tower of Aberdeen.

The two local Banking Companies have assumed armorial bearings, which, it must be admitted, are not altogether inappropriate.‡

*The Town and County Bank, Ld.*

Gules, a besant between two towers of Aberdeen in chief, and a garb in base.

*The North of Scotland Bank, Ld.*

Checquy or and azure, a saltire argent between three towers of Aberdeen in chief and flanks.

* See a correspondence on the subject of "The So-called Grammar School Coat of Arms" in the *Free Press*, May 17, 19, 20, 21, 1884.

† See the *Aberdeen Journal*, May 15, 16, 17, 1882.

‡ The Bank of Scotland was granted arms in 1701; and the National Bank of Scotland in 1826.

*The Harbour Commission* employ a quartered coat, equally without warrant. First and fourth: Or, a cable bendways proper. Second: Aberdeen. Third: Argent, a ship in full sail proper.

Even the *Great North of Scotland Railway Company* have been known to use a shield shewing—Quarterly: Scotland and Aberdeen! But the subject becomes painful.*

## Appendix O O.

### *Correspondence with the Lyon anent the Aberdeen Armorial Ensigns.*

I.

City Chamberlain's Office,
Aberdeen, *15th March, 1883.*

Sir,

By the patent issued by Sir Charles Erskine, Lyon King of Arms, of date 1674, the supporters of the Arms of the City of Aberdeen are described as leopards proper.

In the emblazonment which accompanied it, certified by Mr. Robert Innes, his clerk, the dexter supporter is represented guardant and the sinister in profile. From several existing examples of date prior to the issuing of the emblazonment it would appear that the leopards were usually borne both guardant.

* "The practice of corporations, whether for municipal or for trading purposes, having armorial ensigns, has prevailed for a long period; and, from the present rapid increase of various trading companies (limited), seems likely to prevail to an *unlimited* extent. In such cases the existence of the King-at-Arms seems quite ignored, and every banking or other company appears to feel justified in assuming any heraldic blazon it thinks proper. It should, however, be known that the right of any corporate body to use armorial ensigns rests entirely on the same grounds, and is given and protected by the same constitutional authority, as that of private individuals and families; and no corporation—municipal, ecclesiastical, or commercial—can *legally* use them without such authority."—Laing's *Seals*, Suppl. Vol., p. xx.

Will you be so good as inform me at your early convenience whether the emblazonment is right, and what is the correct bearing of the leopards?

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

P. M. CRAN,
*City Chamberlain.*

GEORGE BURNETT, Esq.,
Lyon King of Arms,
Edinburgh.

II.

LYON OFFICE,
EDINBURGH, *19th March, 1883.*

DEAR SIR,

I have your letter about the supporters of the arms of the City of Aberdeen. They are blazoned in our books as 'two leopards proper.' There is no authority there for either being represented gardant. The words quoted imply that both are in profile; but there is no drawing accompanying the record of the Patent. I cannot account for the liberty which the artist seems to have taken; but, in a strict question of armorial right, the words of the Patent must regulate the matter.

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE BURNETT,
*Lyon.*

P. M. CRAN, Esq.,
City Chamberlain,
Aberdeen.

III.

CITY CHAMBERLAIN'S OFFICE,
ABERDEEN, *22nd March, 1883.*

*Aberdeen City Arms.*

DEAR SIR,

I am much obliged by your letter of the 19th inst., with which I am personally quite satisfied.

I beg leave, however, to enclose copy Memorandum by two gentlemen in Aberdeen who interest themselves in these matters, and to whom I have shown your letter, but who think I have not put the matter fully before you.

Will you kindly consider what they state in the Memorandum, and let me know if it in any way alters the opinion you have expressed that the leopards ought to be both in profile.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

P. M. CRAN,
*City Chamberlain.*

GEORGE BURNETT, Esq.,
Lyon King,
Edinburgh.

ABERDEEN CITY ARMS.

*Notes respectfully submitted for the Lyon King of Arms.*

By usage prior to the renewed patent of 1674 the supporters were borne gardant. For example, they are so represented on two leaden plaques, dated 1635 and 1639, which were saved from the destruction of the Church of St. Nicholas in 1835, and on Gordon's plan of the City, 1661.

There is no reason to suppose that it was intended to change them in the new patent, and it is suggested, with diffidence, that being leopards, the practice in regard to which seems to have been at one time exceptional in Scotland, the word gardant may have been thought unnecessary.

Nisbet seems to hold in his Essay on Armories, chap. xiv., pp. 162-3, that the position of leopards should be gardant. In his Heraldry he blazons the supporters of Montgomery of Lainshaw 'two leopards proper,' and shows them in the engraving gardant.

If, then, the Lyon should see fit to sanction the use of the supporters gardant, it seems desirable that he should do so, in order that the original usage may be maintained.

It may be noted that they have been represented gardant in good examples since the date of the patent. The use of one in profile, indeed, seems only of recent date. In the drawing issued with the patent the towers are not triple towered, and the tressure is faulty in one part.

IV.

LYON OFFICE,
EDINBURGH, *26th March, 1883.*

DEAR SIR,

I have to thank you for your letter mentioning the interesting fact, not before known to

me, about the representations of the arms of Aberdeen taken from the church of St. Nicholas. I am well acquainted with the passages in Nisbet bearing on the subject of Leopards, including one in his Heraldry, vol. ii., p$^{t}$ 2, p. 390. A Leopard in French heraldry used to mean what we call a Lion PASSANT gardant. But both in England and in Scotland the Leopard has always been considered to be the animal so called, with the spots belonging to it, and without the mane. Edmondson, in his 'Complete Body of Heraldry,' says, 'Leopards are borne in arms in the same positions as Lions, and such positions are expressed in the like terms as those of Lions.' I do not think it possible to presume that in any Scottish official blazon a Leopard can mean either a Lion *passant* gardant, or still less, a Lion *Rampant* gardant.

A Lion as a supporter is presumed to be rampant, and unless we adopt the French nomenclature, I think the same principle must be applied to a Leopard.

What I have said, however, only applies to the strict legal interpretation of the blazon in Sir Charles Erskine's patent. In an archæological point of view the persistent recurrence of the gardant attitude in representations of date 1635 and 1639, is of very considerable moment, and does certainly suggest that some confused idea about the French 'lion léopardé' and 'léopard lionné' *may* have led to the existing blazon. I would attach no weight however to the attitudes in the drawing, which must be considered a mere whim of the artist. The towers ought certainly to be 'triple towered.'

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE BURNETT,
*Lyon.*

V.

CITY CHAMBERLAIN'S OFFICE,
ABERDEEN, *31st March, 1883.*

*The Arms of Aberdeen.*

DEAR SIR,

I have to thank you for your obliging letter of the 26th inst.

The Town Council of Aberdeen have agreed to present to the New Town Hall in Lerwick a carving in granite of the Arms of the City.

For this purpose, and on other grounds, the Council should have a correct blazon of the 'Arms of old belonging to the Burgh,' and if it were not expensive I would ask you to have one executed and sent me. Will you kindly let me know what the cost would be?

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

P. M. CRAN,
*City Chamberlain.*

GEORGE BURNETT, Esq.,
Lyon King of Arms,
Edinburgh.

P.S.—I enclose an additional Memorandum which I have just received as to the ancient usage in the matter of the Arms—as to the value of which you are best able to judge.

MEMORANDA *relating to some examples of the Arms of the City of Aberdeen.*

1. One with date from the roof of St. Nicholas Church is dated 1635. Another from that Church is dated 1639. Size, 18½″ × 16″.
2. There is also a representation of the Arms in Edward Raban's 'Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall.' 'Published by authorite. Aberdene. Imprinted by Eduard Raban, duelling upon the Market Place at the Arms of the Citie, 1636. With royal privilege.' The wood-block has a slight crack from top to bottom. In these examples the leopards are all gardant.
3. The block used by Raban is used by his successor John Forbes in 1662 in printing 'Generall Demands concerning the late Covenant'—and

in the same vol. before 'Duplyes of the Ministers and Professors of Aberdene,' and in 'Succinct Survey of Aberdeen, 1685.' It is also used in a print of regulations about Bell and Petty Customs by the Magistrates, dated 1679. In a print of regulations dated 1707 a new block is used, and the Arms represented exactly as in Raban's block.

4. A stamp exists which appears by record to have been used by the Weaver Incorporation in the 17th century and till 1722. Supporters gardant.
5. On the Cross erected 1688 the leopards are boldly carved. Gardant.
6. On the canopy over the Magistrates' Gallery in St. Nicholas (West) Church, finished in 1755, the leopards are gardant—a fine carving.
7. On Mr. Gordon's map of the City, 1661, the supporters are gardant.
8. On an old drum which belonged to the Corporation the arms are embossed on copper—it is believed to be of the early years of the 17th century—very well executed—supporters gardant.

No example of both in profile is known till 1867-73, where on the new Municipal Buildings both supporters are represented in profile—except impressions of the City Seal, which are in existence, and used on deeds bearing date 1588 and downwards. A drawing of the Seal is enclosed as engraved in Kennedy's 'Annals of Aberdeen,' Vol. I. (frontispiece).

VI.

LYON OFFICE,
EDINBURGH, *6th April, 1883.*

DEAR SIR,

I have to thank you much for your letter and its enclosures. It is quite clear that a usage at one time prevailed of bearing the leopards full-faced; but, on the other hand, when the oldest historical evidence, that of the seal of the burgh, bearing date as far back as 1588 (and which of course possesses far more weight than the other examples), coincides with the verbal blazon of 1672, as I am bound to interpret it, I do not see that I have any choice in the matter, and in an official drawing executed here, I would be bound to direct that the supporters should be represented in profile.

As the drawing suggested is for a granite carving, I presume it is to be in black and white only, in which case the cost would not exceed £1.

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE BURNETT,
*Lyon.*

P. M. CRAN, Esq.,
City Chamberlain,
Aberdeen.

PRINTERS:
MILNE AND HUTCHISON,
ABERDEEN.